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JOHN L. SPIVAK EXPOSES THE GOP'S PRO-FASCISTS

HOW NOT TO USE AIR POWER

by JOSEPH REED

THE FUTURE OF AFRICA

by MAX YERGAN

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE: Mr. Hull's Speech, *by The Editors;* Thomas Jefferson's Philosophy, *by Francis Franklin;* The Poll-Taxers Declare War, *by Virginia Gardner;* Shostakovich's Eighth Symphony, *by Paul Rosas.*

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WERE WE WRONG?

Eleven weeks ago we began our annual fund drive for $40,000.

To date: we have received $13,500.

We had expected, by this time, at least $20,000.

Result: we are obliged to revise our estimates, and the creditors have revised theirs. The magazine's financial troubles are mounting dangerously.

We don't mind admitting errors when we make them; but we hate to admit we were wrong in evaluating your support.

Were we?

The Editors.

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THE GOP'S PRO-FASCISTS

By JOHN L. SPIVAK

ALMOST everyone has heard of the Republican Nationalist Revival Committee. Its influence on the Republican Party has been justifiably publicized since it is leaving a profound impress on the national and international policies of a major American party which is out to capture the Presidency and control the Senate and House of Representatives in this fateful year in world history. Yet this Nationalist Revival Committee is a very mysterious organization. It is as mysterious, in fact, as the Citizens USA Committee, which operates out of unlisted offices in Chicago's Loop and whose activities I described in last week's article.

Behind the Republican Nationalist Revival Committee looms the figure of Col. Robert R. McCormick, publisher of the Chicago *Tribune*. Officially there is no connection, yet the political objectives of the two coincide remarkably. And while the head of the Revival outfit insists he has nothing to do directly or indirectly with McCormick, Earl Southard, who, in addition to running the Citizens USA Committee, is on the executive committee of the Nationalist Revival group, is in constant communication with McCormick. The Revival Committee has received considerable publicity in the Chicago *Tribune* and some months ago started a drive for signatures to place Colonel McCormick's name on the Illinois primary ballot for the GOP Presidential nomination.

The Revival Committee, whose public meetings have been addressed by US Senators and Congressmen, is an offshoot of the Citizens USA Committee. It is run by Capt. William J. Grace, a Chicago lawyer, who with Earl Southard originally operated the Citizens Keep-America-Out-of-War Committee in the days when it worked closely with the America First Committee. Behind the Keep-America-Out-of-War Committee were Avery Brundage and William R. Regnery, both of whom, with Henry Ford, were among the original directors of the America First Committee. Brundage and Ford were dropped because they were widely credited with pro-Nazi and anti-Semitic sympathies.

Today Southard, who is a close friend of Lindbergh and Chicago representative of Gerald L. K. Smith, runs the Citizens USA Committee in the same building at 82 West Washington St., Chicago, where the Republican Nationalist Revival Committee has its offices. Directly across the street are the law offices of Captain Grace who directs the Revival Committee.

The Nationalist Revival group was formed in April 1943, for the announced purpose of making the Republican Party "nationalist." I assume it just happened to be the same month in which Colonel McCormick, Gen. Robert E. Wood, former head of the America First Committee, and Charles A. Lindbergh, employed by Henry Ford, held a number of secret conferences, including some with men regarded as the personal representatives of Charles E. Coughlin. Southard sat in on a number of these sessions. General Wood has denied participating in them. These conferences were part of a vast conspiracy to launch a nationwide campaign for a negotiated peace with Germany simultaneously with the opening of the second front in western Europe.

Grace, as chairman of the former Citizens Keep-America-Out-of-War Committee, sent out, on his personal stationery, the call which gave birth to this "nationalist" body, on April 30, 1943. Ostensibly the call was for a mass meeting in Chicago to be held May 20, 1943, in defense of Amer-

One of the thirty un-Americans indicted for sedition as agents of Hitler's world conspiracy is Lawrence Dennis. He is shown here at the Nazi party congress in Nuremberg in 1937 beside Baron Ulrich von Guenenth, former secretary of the German embassy in the United States and ex-head of Nazi Gestapo operations in this country. Dennis, regarded as the "intellectual" leader of American fascism, was a frequent contributer to the *American Mercury* when it was edited by Paul Palmer, now an editor of *Reader's Digest*, for which magazine Dennis has also done special work. Captain Grace, head of the Republican Nationalist Revival Committee, admitted to Spivak that he has corresponded with Dennis since Pearl Harbor and may even have conferred with him.

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Capt. William J. Grace, secretary and directing head of the Republican Nationalist Revival Committee. He, like Earl Southard, is a former Illinois state commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. That organization is dishonored by their continued membership.

ica First. The chief speaker was US Sen. Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota, and the announced purpose of the meeting was "to start the 1944 campaign right now."

The meeting was quite successful and was the first of a long series at which numerous speakers, not all of whom were as distinguished as the Honorable Senator from North Dakota, appeared. Among the speakers were persons like Gerald L. K. Smith (who has got money from Ford) and Rep. Stephen A. Day, who wrote a nice propaganda book for Flanders Hall, a publishing house organized, financed and directed by a paid Nazi agent. At the meeting, which organized the Revival Committee, Captain Grace announced: "This is your meeting. . . . Nobody has put up the money to take care of its expenses. Therefore no one can dictate what shall happen at this meeting. . . ."

This sounded like good, old-fashioned Americanism. It would be swell—if it were so. The facts, however, are somewhat different: (1) Captain Grace conferred not only with Earl Southard, who participated in the secret conferences, but with Lawrence Dennis, the "brains" of American fascism, who is now under a federal indictment charged with conspiracy against the United States. (2) The propaganda spread by the Republican Nationalist Revival Committee tends to create disunity among the three chief Allies fighting Hitler. Who is paying for it all is shrouded in a heavy veil of secrecy. (3) This outfit, which is influencing national and international affairs through its influence on the Republican Party, does not even keep a list of its members. It merely offers a "front" of officers and an executive committee. On this "front" are William H. Regnery and Earl Southard, both old buddies in the pre-war propaganda which hampered American preparations for defense. (4) This committee, which operates as an American political movement, keeps no records so that the American people may know who and what are behind its intensive propaganda drive. (5) Captain Grace wants a negotiated peace with Germany.

There are many things that I could say about this organization, but, perhaps it is best to let its "front" leader do the talking. Captain Grace is a stocky man with a graying, mousey moustache, blue eyes set behind gold-rimmed glasses and black hair combed straight back. In moments of befuddlement, which I found not too rare, he extends both hands outward. Grace's office at 77 West Washington St. contains a desk and a number of spacious club chairs, all of which are practically invisible because of the terrific heap of papers, publications, letters and brief cases which litter them. His secretary told him that a newspaper man from New York wanted to see him, and when I was ushered in he beamed and grasped my hand with the enthusiasm of a Tammany politician greeting a voter on election day.

"Welcome!" he boomed. "Come in! Glad to see you!"

"My name's Spivak," I introduced myself. "I'm from the NEW MASSES."

"I've got nothing to hide!" he exclaimed, throwing his arms wide apart. I stared at him a bit startled at the unexpected reaction.

"I'm sure of that," I said finally. "I'm interested in the growth of nationalist sentiment in the Middle West and since you're one of the leaders in developing it I thought I'd get your views."

"Oh," he said, eyeing me uncertainly. He took off his glasses and rubbed his nose. "Well, of course. Naturally. Have a chair. Here, take this one. It's more comfortable. Yes, of course. I want my guests to be comfortable. Midwest courtesy, you know, ha! ha! Do you want some paper to take notes? Here, let me make some room for you on my desk—"

He shoved a truckful of papers aside and bowed me into a chair.

"Nationalist sentiment has always been here," he began in a flow of words which sounded as if he had repeated them so often that they flowed on automatically. I did not ask a question for several minutes. He just talked. "It's a consciousness of an independent, self-reliant nationalism which can stand on its own feet—make its own way—without feeling that we have to consult with anyone else."

AFTER the first gush his sureness evaporated. He began to grope for words and thoughts as if trying to clarify in his own mind what nationalist sentiment is. For some ten or fifteen minutes, spurred by only an occasional question from me, he tried to explain it. I asked why it was more prevalent in the Middle West than in the South, for instance, and that one gave him a little difficulty. Finally he hit on the explanation that, "I would off-hand say that the South feels friendly towards England because England helped her in the Civil War."

Since I did not want to go back to the Civil War, I dropped this line of questioning. "Can you tell me the difference between a nationalist and an internationalist?" I asked gently.

"Sure!" he boomed. "A nationalist is a nationalist and an internationalist is an internationalist!"

"Now that sounds reasonable," I agreed. "But, could you give me something a little more definite? You see, I got to explain your views to my readers and they're not too bright. They might not see how simple it really is."

"Well, now let me see," he said rubbing his nose and trying to explain things so NEW MASSES readers could grasp them. "A nationalist is a man—you see—now, a nationalist is a man who believes America can carve out an independent independence. See?"

I opened my mouth, but he shushed me with a motion. He was formulating a thought and did not want to be disturbed.

"Now, that's almost like the words Lindbergh used, but just because Lind-

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bergh used them does not mean they're not good words. They mean a lot."

"Anybody can see that," I said, carefully writing down his answer verbatim. "Now that we're over that hurdle would you be good enough to tell my readers what an internationalist is?"

GRACE took off his glasses, sighed and rubbed his moustache again with a forefinger.

"Certainly," he said agreeably. "Why, it's as simple as—well—an internationalist is a person who does not believe in the Declaration of Independence."

"That's clear enough even for my readers," I agreed. "But they're not too bright, you know, and I'm afraid they'll get the idea that there's something in the Declaration of Independence which states that an internationalist does not believe in the Declaration. Is there?"

"That's not the point," he said. "Maybe I don't make myself clear. An internationalist is a man who believes that we depend upon other countries for security. But we don't need other countries. We're self-sufficient. Get it?"

"That sounds clear," I agreed. "But how would you explain international economic interdependence?"

"Now, just a minute," he said protestingly, chiding me with a forefinger. "Let's get this straight. Are we talking about economics or politics?"

"I thought politics were greatly influenced by economic relationships," I apologized.

"I don't know anything about that," he said, shaking his head. "I'm talking politics, not economics. Let's stick to politics. I'm interested in the political situation."

"Aren't they related somewhat?"

"Why," he began vaguely, groping for words. "Maybe—in a way—I never thought it through."

For the next ten minutes or so we talked about how he launched the Nationalist Revival movement, how Illinois can go to the Republican convention with a large block of delegates sworn to nationalism and, joined with nationalist delegates from other states, affect the convention and its choice for President.

"Who are among your chief associates in this movement?" I asked.

"P. H. Moynihan is chairman. He's a former Congressman."

"What's his business?"

"Well, now, I don't know exactly. He has some business interests. I think he's in the paving game."

"Who else?"

"James Cullen is very active."

"What's his business?"

"Oh, he's active in Republican Party politics, been active for a long time."

"I know, but what's his business? How does he make a living?"

"I don't know. He's in several businesses. What they are I don't know. I think he's in the real estate or real estate appraisals."

"You mean you are working with people in a movement to influence the course of American and world history by influencing the Republican Party and you don't know what they do to earn a living?"

"What's it my business what they do?" he said with an air of surprise. "They're good Americans. They're nationalists. That's good enough for me."

"All right. Could you tell me if the same people who are active in the Republican Nationalist Revival Committee were also active in the Citizens Keep-America-Out-of-War Committee which Southard now runs as the Citizens USA Committee?"

"We are an out and out political movement. The Citizens USA Committee is just a patriotic group," he explained.

"May I see the list of members of the Republican Nationalist Revival Committee?"

"There is no list of members," he said eyeing me with a touch of shrewdness. "There is no membership in the Revival Committee. I just send out letters from my personal list."

"And from the former Citizens Keep-America-Out-of-War lists?"

"Yes," he said, a little hesitantly.

"You use other lists too, like Coughlinite outfits and the old America First—"

"I use other lists," he said quickly, "but I don't know always just what organizations they are."

"Where do you get them?"

"Oh, from friends."

"I see. I don't believe I got the answer to the question as to whether the people on your Nationalist Committee include those on the former Keep-America-Out-of-War Committee."

"I wouldn't say that there are many," he said vaguely.

"Let's try another angle. How many of your executive body were active in the old America First Committee?"

"I couldn't tell you," he said hazily.

"Couldn't you recollect, or perhaps check your records?"

"Well," he said uncomfortably, "there was Regnery. He was treasurer of the Citizens Keep-America-Out-of-War group and he was on the executive committee of America First and then there was Avery Brundage—"

HE COULDN'T recollect any others.

"Would you say that the old America First Committee leaders look favorably on your Nationalist Committee?"

"It would be natural," he smiled. "I know of many who were active in the America First Committee who are now active in the Revival Committee."

"That's what I was trying to find out. Are you cooperating with other groups or leaders of groups to create nationalist sentiment?"

Grace turned uncomfortably in his chair and stared out of the window as if trying to figure out if and how he should answer the question. After a few moments and still no answer I said:

"I understand you work closely with mothers' groups like We, The Mothers—"

"We have no contact with them at all."

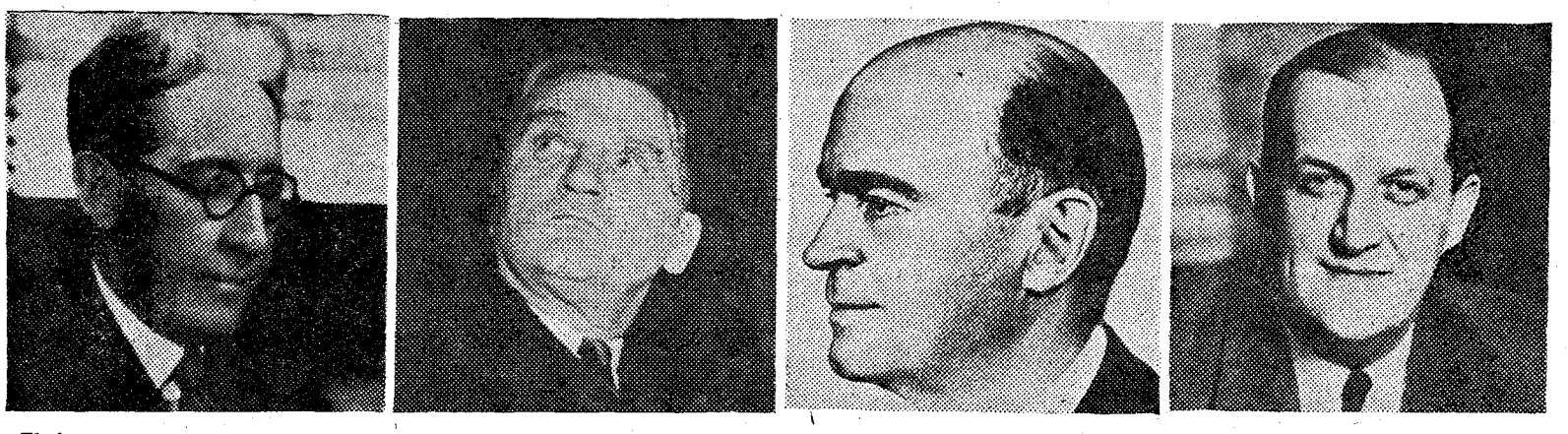
"I understood you had."

"A number of them attend our meetings. That's all. I don't know them personally."

"Are there any mothers' groups that you do cooperate with?"

"We cooperate with no groups at all," he said definitely. "Our movement is merely an attempt to develop nationalism within the Republican Party."

"But you will take help from the mothers or other groups?"



Their propaganda helps the enemy. The chairman of the Republican Nationalist Revival Committee, P. H. Moynihan (left), who is a former Congressman, and three of the organization's star speakers, in the usual order, Senator Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota, Rep. Stephen A. Day of Illinois, and Rep. Paul W. Shafer of Michigan.

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"Well," he smiled and motioned broadly with his hands, "you know how politics is."

"You'd take help from the devil himself when you need it, eh?"

GRACE laughed heartily. "That's the sum and substance of it," he beamed. "Of course, help from the devil himself is an embarrassing statement to make. I would rather you would not use it just that way."

"Yes, I can see how it could be misunderstood," I agreed. "Some people might think you'd take help even from pro-Nazis."

"People might think anything," Grace said, taking off his glasses and rubbing his mousey moustache.

"Yes, of course. Now, I understand that at your meetings your speakers stimulate resentment and distrust of our two chief allies, England and Russia—"

"We don't want British and Russian propagandists over here," he interrupted.

"But don't you think that propaganda which creates disunity among our allies helps the Nazis?"

"There is disunity in this country anyway," he said, "and it is caused by the British and the Reds who want to take over our country."

"What would the British want it for?"

"They want to bring us into their empire as a satellite," he said. "They have never given up the idea that we should not be more than a colony."

"That's a very important statement. Can you prove it? It would be sensational if you could."

"You don't have to prove it. I know it."

"That settles that," I said. "But still, doesn't creating a sense of distrust of our allies harm our war effort?"

"What am I supposed to do when I see that England is trying to make us a colony? Keep quiet?" he demanded indignantly.

"Not if you had the proof," I agreed, "but you've already explained to me, so we don't have to follow that up. Could you tell me if Father Coughlin's followers support the Republican Nationalist Revival Committee?

"There are some Coughlinites who attend our meetings," he said cautiously, "but there is no one on our executive board."

"What sort of cooperation do you get from Father Coughlin?"

"Not any," he said quickly.

"Not even indirectly?"

Captain Grace took off his glasses and bit them gently while he stared up at the ceiling.

"Well, I guess those who attend our meetings probably write to him," he said finally.

"How many of the conferences did you attend which were called by General Wood, Colonel McCormick and Lindbergh in the spring of 1943?"

Captain Grace turned a startled expression in my direction. His eyes behind their gold rimmed glasses became round and bright.

"I never heard of those conferences," he said slowly.

"Southard participated in some of them. Didn't he tell you anything about them?"

"I never heard anything about them," he said.

"Okay. There's another angle I'd like to ask you about. I understand that right after Pearl Harbor you came out for a negotiated peace and that you are still working for a negotiated peace."

"I'm in favor at all times of sitting down to discuss peace." He smiled, apparently relieved that we were off the secret conferences.

"Do you think a negotiated peace would be for our best interests?"

"Let me ask you a question," he countered. "What will we gain by winning this war?"

"Off hand I'd say that we would gain the certainty of continuing our way of life, of continuing to function as a democracy instead of becoming a slave country."

"Democracy!" he snorted. "This country is not a democracy. It's a republic."

"Isn't that the same contention used by Pelley, Coughlin, and the German-American Bund to create opposition to democracy?"

"I don't know what they used to say. All I know is that this country isn't a democracy. It's a republic. But, so far as making a negotiated peace, do you want to know what we would gain? We would gain a lot of lives that will be lost if we continue fighting."

"Wouldn't a negotiated peace, without complete destruction of Nazi and Japanese military machines, give them a chance to rearm and throw the world into another war, perhaps a generation from now?"

"I don't know what the Nazis and Japs want so I can't say."

"You seem to be indifferent about living under a Nazi-dominated empire," I commented.

But Why No Records, Mr. Nye?

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

April 6, 1944

Mr. Joseph North, Editor
New Masses
104 East Ninth Street
New York, N. Y.,

Dear Mr. North:

I am just returned from my state, and I find your telegram of March 25th.

I thought I knew the persons responsible for the Republican Revival Committee at Chicago quite well and I have had no reason to doubt their word that their financing was done quite wholly through collections taken up at their meetings. I have no reason today to doubt for a moment the Americanism of their financing.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph North wired Senator Nye, March 25, the following queries: "Would you please wire me collect to New Masses, 104 East Ninth Street, New York, if you have any personal knowledge as to who is financing Republican Nationalist Revival Committee whose mass meetings you addressed. If you have no personal knowledge did you ever make inquiry to determine sources of this organization's funds?" How does the Senator explain the mysterious fact that "the Americanism of their financing" is done without records of any sort?

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"What's the difference between one empire and another?" he asked.

"You think there is no difference between living under a British or a Nazi empire?"

"None whatever!" he said emphatically.

"That's definite enough. I assume you're in favor of a revived America First movement, too?"

"Well, I don't know how to answer that," he said cautiously. "This Revival Committee is arousing nationalist sentiment and that's what the America First movement did."

"You mean it has taken over the work of the America First Committee?"

"Now, now," he said, extending a hand protestingly. "I wouldn't say that. No, sir. I wouldn't say that."

"What would you say?"

"I'd merely say that it's arousing sentiment for Americanism and that's what the America First Committee did."

"I still don't get the difference."

"You're not putting it fairly," he said with a disapproving shake of his head. "We are not taking over the work of the America First Committee. We are just carrying on propaganda for Americanism."

"And that's what the America First Committee did, eh?"

"That's right," he beamed.

"Then what's the difference?"

"Well—we're a political organization."

"All right. Tell me, would a revived America First movement help arouse nationalist sentiment?"

Grace leaned back in his chair, took off his glasses, nibbled at them, rubbed his moustache with a forefinger and stared up at the ceiling. Every once in a while he cast a side glance at me as if trying to figure out if there were a trap in the question. Finally he said, "Well, it would be chiefly a sort of publicity group for Americanism doctrines."

"Couldn't it also be used for political purposes?"

"I suppose so," he said. "You can organize a mass movement and it will be used by some people for political purposes. It all depends on what sort of leadership you have."

"Would you depend upon the leadership, then, and not upon the people?"

"The leaders have to lead them," he said opening his arms wide as if that was so obvious that it was unnecessary even to mention it.

"Isn't this dependence upon leadership the Nazi fuehrer idea?"

"No! No! No!" he exclaimed suddenly, sitting upright in his chair. "Now, look here, don't get me wrong. You understand my idea. You got to get the people and the leadership comes from them."

"I understand. Now, what is the relationship between your movement and the regular Republican Party?"

"A good many people in our executive body are active in the regular Republican organization. However, we have lots of Democrats in our rank and file who are sick of the internationalist Roosevelt administration."

"You know Lawrence Dennis personally, don't you?" I asked, switching the subject.

"Oh, he talked for us and for the Citizens Keep-America-Out-of-War Committee, but I haven't seen him since the war."

"Have you heard from him?"

"No, I haven't heard from him in any way. He's sort of quiet, isn't he?"

"I understand you corresponded with him," I said.

"Well, come to think of it," Grace suddenly recollected, "I did get a letter or two from him since the war."

"I don't suppose you have them around in your files?"

"Oh," he said, shaking his head. "We keep no files. I guess his letters were thrown away."

"Just carry on propaganda—and no files?"

"Propaganda for Americanism," he corrected me.

"My mistake," I apologized. "I understood that you did meet with him personally several times since the war, and not so long ago."

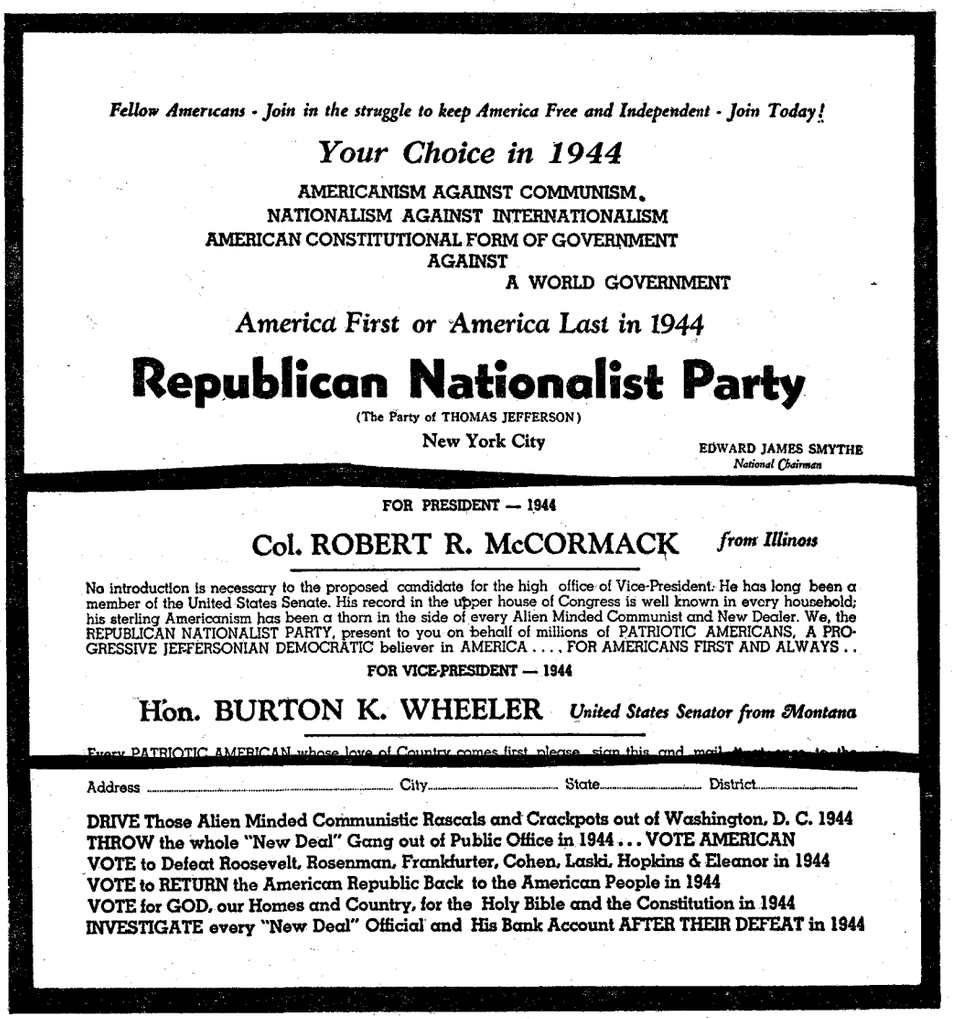
"I don't recollect such meetings," he said, puckering his lips as if trying to recollect any. "Maybe, but I don't recollect them."

"Isn't Dennis supposed to be the brains behind the American fascist movement?"

"I don't know. I never heard of it," he said, shaking his head. "It's news to me if that's so. Anyway, what are we so excited about? What is fascism? All I know is that fascism is against Communism."

"And if it's against Communism then you favor it?"

"Well, now!" he exclaimed. "Just a minute! Just a minute! I don't want you to make it seem that I'm in favor of fascism. It might be extreme, you know. It might be something that would hurt the



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NATIONALISM AGAINST INTERNATIONALISM
AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONAL FORM OF GOVERNMENT
AGAINST
A WORLD GOVERNMENT

America First or America Last in 1944

Republican Nationalist Party

(The Party of THOMAS JEFFERSON)
New York City

EDWARD JAMES SMYTHE
National Chairman

FOR PRESIDENT — 1944

Col. ROBERT R. McCORMACK *from Illinois*

No introduction is necessary to the proposed candidate for the high office of Vice-President. He has long been a member of the United States Senate. His record in the upper house of Congress is well known in every household; his sterling Americanism has been a thorn in the side of every Alien Minded Communist and New Dealer. We, the REPUBLICAN NATIONALIST PARTY, present to you on behalf of millions of PATRIOTIC AMERICANS, A PROGRESSIVE JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRATIC believer in AMERICA . . . . FOR AMERICANS FIRST AND ALWAYS . .

FOR VICE-PRESIDENT — 1944

Hon. BURTON K. WHEELER *United States Senator from Montana*

Every PATRIOTIC AMERICAN whose love of Country comes first please sign this and mail [illegible]

Address ..... City..... State..... District.....

DRIVE Those Alien Minded Communistic Rascals and Crackpots out of Washington, D. C. 1944
THROW the whole "New Deal" Gang out of Public Office in 1944 . . . VOTE AMERICAN
VOTE to Defeat Roosevelt, Rosenman, Frankfurter, Cohen, Laski, Hopkins & Eleanor in 1944
VOTE to RETURN the American Republic Back to the American People in 1944
VOTE for GOD, our Homes and Country, for the Holy Bible and the Constitution in 1944
INVESTIGATE every "New Deal" Official and His Bank Account AFTER THEIR DEFEAT in 1944

Though the Republican Nationalist Party has no official connection with the Republican Nationalist Revival Committee, the political aims of the two and their preferences for the 1944 election are the same. The Republican Nationalist Party is one of the numerous rackets organized by Edward James Smythe, now under indictment together with twenty-nine others for sedition. Smythe was a former speaker for the America First Committee and for the German-American Bund. One of his latest ventures is the "Protestant Chaplains' Association," which is sponsoring a day of prayer on May 21 for which Smythe has succeeded through trickery in getting endorsements from respectable quarters.

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We have had 10 years of a bullet-less civil war, with the New Deal continually on the attack against our American people and against our American institutions of Freedom. In this war the people have had to carry on their own fight, holding meetings, writing letters, sending telegrams to Congress and the President and even making almost impossible sacrifices in going to Washington to make demonstrations and to appear before Congressional committees fighting proposed unAmerican legislation. All this without one bit of help from Republican party leaders.

IMMEDIATE ACTION! THE PEOPLE, now or never, must take the leadership out of the hands of those who are either too ignorant or too weak to fight. The fight now is between American Nationalism and alien internationalism, between those who believe in AMERICA FIRST and those who believe in AMERICA LAST.

Therefore, as Chairman of the Citizens U S A Committee (formerly known as the Citizens Keep America Out of War Committee) I am calling a public mass meeting for Thursday evening, May 20th, 8:00 P.M., Crystal Ball Room, Hotel Morrison, Madison and Clark Streets, for the purpose of starting the 1944 campaign RIGHT NOW - with a view to beginning the search for Delegates to the Republican National Convention and for Ward and State Central Committeemen and candidates for every public office in the State who will stand to the end for AMERICA FIRST and against Willkie-ism, hypocrisy and alien internationalism.

The letter sent out by Capt. William J. Grace calling the meeting which, on May 20, 1943, organized the Republican Nationalist Revival Committee. Principal speaker at that meeting was Senator Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota. One of the chief objectives of the committee was to prevent the nomination of Wendell Willkie. This objective, which has been realized with Mr. Willkie's retirement from the race, was shared by the Spangler-Taft leadership of the Republican National Committee.

Miss Kellems Obtains Help From Langer

Senator Charges Mail Tampering; P. O. Denies It

PM's Bureau

WASHINGTON, Apr. 7.--Sen. William Langer (R., N. D.) has come to the defense of Miss Vivien Kellems, the Connecticut war manufacturer, who has been accused of writing love letters to a Nazi spy in Argentina, Count Frederick Karl von Zedlitz.

Joining Miss Kellems in her condemnation of Drew Pearson and Rep. John Coffee (D., Wash.), who quoted excerpts from Miss Kellems' alleged correspondence, Langer declared he knew of other cases involving tampering with the U. S. mails.

"I think the treatment Miss Kellems has had is outrageous," said Langer. "I believe it is most unfortunate, regardless of the merits of the controversy, that the impression should be allowed to get out—

In the April 3 issue of New Masses John L. Spivak revealed that on Dec. 11, 1943, Senator William Langer of North Dakota held a secret meeting at the Hotel Morrison, Chicago, with leaders of so-called mothers' groups, Coughlinites and other pro-fascists as part of the drive for a negotiated peace with Germany. In a wire to NM editor Joseph North Senator Langer attempted to depict this meeting as entirely innocent, concerned with such matters as old age pensions and the abolition of race discrimination. The clipping above from *PM* indicates that the senator's *philanthropic interests extend to Miss Vivian Kellems, the new heroine of the GOP high command, who has been accused of (and has not denied) writing ardent love letters to a Nazi spy in Argentina, Count Frederick Karl von Zedlitz.

Revival Committee if that got around. That's extreme, that statement. I'm in favor of Americanism."

"I understand that. Now let me get this straight. You said all you know is that fascism is against Communism. The implication is that in that case, it's okay. Isn't that the line Hitler used?"

"Now, just a minute!" he protested again, sitting upright. "That's not what I said."

"I'm sorry. What did you say?"

"It's not what I said. It's what I didn't say," he said, flustered. "What I want to say is that I'm in favor of Americanism."

"All right, I'll write that down carefully. Now, would you mind telling me what your conception of Americanism is?"

"The Americanism plan is that the essential rights of an individual came from God."

I MULLED this one over and finally decided to leave it alone. We'd get nowhere fast. I switched the subject.

"What's Bill Stuart's connection with you?" I asked.

"I don't get it," Grace said with a puzzled air.

"Stuart issues a little paper which is practically the official voice of the Republican Nationalist Revival Committee and also sits in on some of your pow-wows."

"That's right," he admitted.

"Isn't Bill Stuart Hearst's political adviser?"

"I guess so. Hearst used to rely a good deal on his judgment and information. But, don't get the wrong idea just because of that."

"I'm trying not to. Hearst still sort of relies on Bill Stuart's information and advice?"

"Wouldn't surprise me. They think the same."

"Isn't he sort of representing Hearst in your nationalist movement?"

"I thought you were driving at that!" he exclaimed, triumphantly. "But you're wrong! I don't believe there's any direct representation from Hearst. No, sir."

"You don't believe there is. Who would know about it?"

"Well—" he began and then broke into a smile. "I would, naturally. I'm the secretary."

"Why did you have to say you didn't believe there was any direct representation, then?"

"Oh, it's just a way of phrasing it—" he said, still smiling. "But you're on the wrong track."

"How does Bill Stuart make a living?"

"I don't know, I imagine he's independent."

"Don't you know?"

"No, I don't."

"That's one of the surprising things about this outfit," I commented. "You work very closely with a lot of people who are spreading propaganda which tends to create disunity in the ranks of the Allies fighting Hitler, yet you say you know nothing about how they make their living. Wouldn't it be important to know exactly what the connections are of these people?"

"All I want to know is that they're good Americans and not how they make their living," he said.

"Could you tell me how your committee finances itself?"

"If you attended one of our meetings you'd find out. We take up collections. That's all."

"Are your books open to public inspection?"

"We don't keep any books," he smiled.

"Then how do you know how much comes in and goes out?"

"Oh, it just comes in and goes out, and that's all."

"Do you ever have any deficits?"

He hesitated. "Sometimes," he said. "Yes, sometimes we run short."

"What do you do then?"

"Oh, we run into somebody and we tell them we're short. They make a contribution and we cover the deficit. That's all."

"Do you keep any records of the sums you get and from whom?"

"I imagine I have some such records," he said uncertainly.

"Could I get a look at them?"

"Oh, we don't bother to keep written books."

"What will you do when you have to file a statement as to your income and expenditures? As a political movement you'll have to do that, you know, under federal law."

A worried look flashed across his face.

"Yeah," he said slowly. "I guess that's right."

"Think you'll start keeping records now?"

"I don't know," he said, still worried. "Right now we're not keeping any books."

"So that now only you and a handful of people actually know how much and from whom you get money to carry on your propaganda?"

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"Yeah," he said slowly, "I guess that's about right."

No records, no financial books, no membership lists—but a ceaseless flow of propaganda which tends to create distrust and disunity in the ranks of the Allies fighting Hitler.

This is the organization which was formed for the express purpose of making the Republican Party "nationalist." This is the organization that is leaving its influence upon a great political party which is trying to capture the presidency of the United States and control of the US Senate and House of Representatives—the bodies which will decide what to do with a defeated Germany. This is the organization started by one of the two men who ran the Citizens Keep-America-Out-of-War Committee when it worked closely with the America First Committee, branded by Secretary of the Interior Ickes as "a tight little Nazi organization which follows the party line as laid down in Berlin." This is the organization which maintains close contact with US Senators and Congressmen, yet—no financial records, no membership lists, no public knowledge as to who is financing it to carry on propaganda which tends to create dissension among the Allies fighting Hitler. This is the organization born of the outfit run by Lindbergh's close friend.

It seems to me that with our own and the world's peace at stake, it is essential that the federal government place these "front" leaders on the witness stand under oath to determine just who and what is really behind this organization that was launched just about the time that the Nazis learned that they faced inevitable military defeat.

Bring Them to Book

THIS is the last of the series by John Spivak: it is not, we are certain, the last we shall hear of the men and women he has exposed. Their names, records, and current activities are increasingly a matter of public concern as the war speeds toward the climactic invasion of Europe, and as our domestic political campaign moves toward November. Today, as a maximum of patriotic unity is sine qua non for speedy victory, the individuals exposed by Mr. Spivak work towards the maximum of disunity. They are the proponents of defeatism, of pro-fascism, the native counterpart of the Third Reich's way of life.

What was the burden of Mr. Spivak's five articles?

First: he established, on admission of many of those involved, that a conspiracy exists to force a negotiated peace timed with the opening of the second front, and simultaneously to work for the defeat of President Roosevelt in November.

Second: that many involved in this conspiracy are men of high station—men like Gen. Robert E. Wood, former head of America First, Col. Robert McCormick, publisher of the Chicago *Tribune*, Col. Charles A. Lindbergh, Charles E. Coughlin, Senators Nye, Langer, and others. These men still enjoy liberty of movement and expression. In fact, General Wood has admitted that he has just returned from a journey abroad of official nature; newspaper accounts indicate that Colonel Lindbergh himself is about to embark on a journey abroad. They are free to continue their dirty work here and across the seas—a scandalous, most serious peril to our national war effort.

Third: these high-placed persons have mobilized termite organizations and individuals—like Gerald L. K. Smith, Coughlin, Capt. William J. Grace, Carl H. Mote, of Indianapolis, Earl Southard—to disseminate propaganda for a negotiated peace and to blacken the name of the Commander-in-Chief and his administration. Furthermore, these groups utilize all the technique of Dr. Goebbels—anti-Semitism, anti-Sovietism, anti-Communism, anti-United Nations.

Fourth: these men and groups are clustered around the Republican Party; there are indubitable ties between them and men associated with the Republican National Committee headed by Harrison Spangler: the Republican Nationalist Revival Committee has ties with men at the helm of the GOP. Nor are they at all averse to association with defeatist Democratic figures—like Senator Reynolds, of North Carolina, Senator Wheeler of Montana; Representatives John Rankin and Martin Dies.

Fifth: that one of those mentioned, Captain Grace, who runs the Republican Nationalist Revival Committee, has conferred with Lawrence Dennis, the "brains" of American fascism, now under federal indictment, charged with conspiracy against the United States. Senator Gerald P. Nye worked closely with one Horace J. Haase, now in prison for refusing to fight for his country. In fact, the federal authorities now about to try the thirty indicted seditionists accused of being American agents of Hitler's world conspiracy should examine the ties, personal and ideological, between those mentioned in the Spivak series and the Joe McWilliams, Gerald Winrod, Elizabeth Dilling crew.

Sixth: and in many ways the most serious of all, is the fact at least one of those exposed, Charles E. Coughlin, is operating in our armed services, seeking to establish an army within the Army through his St. Sebastian's Brigade.

EVERY day brings further confirmation of the Spivak charges. Senator Langer, for example, was cited by Spivak as the chief speaker at a secret meeting in the Morrison Hotel, Dec. 11, 1943, at which leaders of the defeatist "mother groups," Coughlinites, other old "isolationists" and pro-fascists attended. Senator Langer, in a telegram to this magazine, denied everything except that he attended such a meeting: its purpose was simon-pure patriotism along the lines of the venerable Senator Norris' ideas, he explained. It so happens, however, that it is Senator Langer who comes to the defense of Miss Vivien Kellems, the Connecticut war manufacturer who has been accused of relations with a Nazi spy in Argentina, Count Frederick Karl von Zedlitz. Miss Kellems, it will be remembered, is the staunch Hoover Republican who called for an insurrection against federal tax payments. Surely an odd coincidence for a legislator who describes himself as a disciple of Senator Norris.

In brief, this is painfully clear: that prominent men who enjoy official authority are utilizing that authority for ends perilous to our war effort and to our postwar goals. These men are still at liberty to continue their nefarious work. The Department of Justice has taken only one step to root out such elements from our national scene in its prosecution of the thirty seditionists. The need is to look behind the small fry: lay hands on the main culprits, to prosecute them indefatigably and put them in custody so that our people will be spared the influences and ideas of fascism.

Time is short: the nation faces the greatest moment of its history—D day, when our troops by the million will finish off fascism. We cannot afford leniency at home toward those who aid and abet the enemy.

We urge an immediate federal investigation of the men and women named by Mr. Spivak: we urge our readers to press relentlessly for such action. To do less would be less than patriotism.

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THE FUTURE OF AFRICA

By MAX YERGAN

THE problems of Africa, as of this continent or any other, must be seen today in the focus of the whole world situation. And the central fact in today's world picture is the accomplishment of Teheran. The unity of purpose for gaining victory over the fascist enemy and for working together in the postwar world achieved by the great leaders of the three principal world powers, is the point at which we must begin and end in this discussion. For without such unity there can be no victory, no lasting peace, nor any solution of the colonial problems in any area. International collaboration dedicated to democratic objectives is essential to the future welfare of all peoples.

It is in this focus that I see the solution of the colonial question and the future of the African. Without world-wide economic security after the war there cannot, as I see it, be any progress of the African or any other subject people toward a better life. On the contrary, economic depression in the United States or Canada means retrogression and increased hardship for the colonial. Freedom and independence can be built only upon a foundation of economic security. The key to that freedom and independence for America, as for Africa, lies in the transforming of the world's colonial areas into modern markets for a modern productive economy.

If the old imperialism is dead, as many have said during this war, it is because it can no longer function. There are no longer in the world unexplored areas where surplus capital can be invested to bring quick and bountiful returns. I cite as authority for that statement Col. Oliver Stanley, British Secretary for Colonies, who said, "The colonies have passed the stage of economic development in which a man, though he had to look for great risks, also looked for great profits." The old imperialism regarded the colonies as sources of raw materials and cheap labor and as a dumping ground for cheap surplus consumer goods. With the end of the war there will be an immense mountain of most raw materials on hand left over from war production. It will be impossible to pay the same miserable wages to the African worker in the mines or on the plantations of the European investor or settler and expect that worker to buy more of the world's surplus goods.

The old imperialism, then, must give way to a modern industrial and agricultural economy, universally applied, so that there can be the purchasing power necessary to buy the goods which must be produced to keep our world economy on a sound and secure basis. The 150 millions of Africans, the half billion other peoples in French, Belgian, Dutch, and other British dependencies, and the millions more in independent or semi-independent countries where economic development is low—all these peoples must be raised to the standard of living, employment, and purchasing power which we in the more advanced countries enjoy.

To quote Vice President Henry Wallace, "Our choice is between democracy for everybody or for the few—between the spreading of social safeguards and economic opportunity to all the people—or the concentration of our abundant resources in the hands of selfishness and greed."

The old imperialism represented the practice of overlordship based upon the assumption of superior and inferior races and peoples. Carried to its extreme, this philosophy resulted in the plan of the Nazi geo-politikers for creating a Eurafrica in which Africa would be merely an appendix, perpetually preserved as a colonial territory of a Nazi-dominated Europe. According to this Nazi view, the natives of Africa were Africa's most important raw material. The building of the new world of unity requires that this *Herrenvolk* conception, the breeder of racial discrimination, oppression, and conflict be obliterated. The new relations which must be established with colonial peoples, in the interests of world security, must be based upon principles of equality and democracy.

WHAT does the establishment of these new relations and the achievement of these principles with regard to Africa entail? To answer that it is necessary to review the history of European penetration and its results in Africa. The history of European conquest in Africa dates back over four centuries to the beginning of the vicious slave trade. Coastal settlements of Europeans followed, but down to almost the end of the last century, in the year 1884, less than one-tenth of the continent was under European rule. Then, following the explorations of Stanley, Cecil Rhodes, and others, the great scramble for African territory by the European powers began. A generation later, at the time of the outbreak of the first World War, only three states, Ethiopia, Liberia, and Egypt, comprising about one-fourteenth of the continent in area, were under the administration of the original inhabitants.

Today Britain rules thirty-four percent of the over eleven million square miles of the vast continent and forty percent of the population. France rules thirty-five percent of the land and twenty-seven percent of the people. Belgium, nine percent of the land and the same proportion of people. Portugal and Spain—the latter on a very small scale—are the other present rulers of Africa. Italy's former domain, which was equivalent in size to that of Belgium's, now is under temporary American and British authority.

The one thing which all of these various colonies have in common is the lack of development—cultural, economic, and political. Although one power or another may lay claim to liberal policies and developments, the fact remains that the people as a whole have not received the necessary education, health facilities, employment conditions, or political opportunities which would enable them to rise above a state of serfdom. Small advances there have been in some areas during the years since the first World War, and international conferences and agreements have brought an end to the ruthless murder and plunder which characterized the early years of the scramble for territory and wealth. But fundamentally the various colonial authorities represent instruments for protecting and extending the European economic interests. These interests have been concerned hitherto with such investments as would guarantee quick returns. That objective required the use of cheap labor, and cheap labor means undeveloped, unskilled, and uneducated labor.

While the British government alone among the European powers in Africa has made practical commitments for developing its African subjects to a position of self-government, its efforts toward that end have advanced only a very short distance. The governing authorities, if they try sincerely to work toward this end, find themselves at loggerheads with the industrial interests or the white settlers, and the result of this collision of interests is a standstill, do-nothing policy.

Since 1940, through the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund, the British government has assumed the responsibility of contributing to expenditures for health, education and other social services in the colonies. The funds provided, however—up to 5 million pounds annually—cannot begin to furnish the social services needed by Africa's millions, not to mention the millions in other British colonial areas.

Take, for example, the matter of education—which, incidentally, is nowhere free in British Africa. The proportion of children who get any kind of schooling does not rise above twenty percent in any colony, and sinks to less than one percent in the Sierra Leone protectorate, where British rule has been established for a century and a half. In some hinterland re-

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gions of Nigeria one child out of a thousand goes to school.

Why cannot the African provide his own social services? What happens to the wealth from the land and from the mines which the African produces with his labor? An English economist and member of the Council on African Affairs, Leonard Barnes, gives the following answer with regard to mineral production, on the basis of an analysis of copper production figures in Northern Rhodesia: "Broadly, we appropriate the natural resources, develop them in our own ways and for our own purposes (ways and purposes which wholly ignore the pre-existing structure and function of African society), and of the wealth so produced carry out of the country eleven pounds for every one pound we leave behind."

In short, the so-called backwardness of the African is accounted for by the general exclusion of the African from ownership of natural resources and of tools of production, the alienation of his best land, the maintenance of starvation wage standards, and the use of the color bar in South and East Africa to prevent his securing skilled and more profitable employment, together with other measures, all of which are devised and enforced by a government in which the African has little or no voice.

This is the general pattern of African life under European rule.

That pattern must today be changed—not only in the interest of Africans, but as I have already indicated, in the interest of us all, in the interest of world security. The African standard of living and purchasing power must be raised, the African economy must be developed by and for the African, so that new markets may be created to keep the world's industries working at wartime capacity.

This revolutionary change cannot and will not be achieved by any one nation, however great, acting alone. It must be achieved through concerted international agreement, planning, and action. The Teheran Declaration provides the basis for believing that such international unity and achievement are a practical possibility.

IMMEDIATELY one talks of international planning, someone is sure to raise the issue of national sovereignty. Even the proposal of central planning for the British colonies is rebuffed by Colonel Stanley on the ground that the colonies "expect to have a say in their own development." An agency of the government in India has recently circulated a reprint of an article by an author condemning what he called the United States' "excessive internationalism," and blaming Americans for allegedly "creating vast confusion and disturbance abroad" by their talk about the Allies' colonies, mandates, and dominions.

Such complaints remind me of the cry of "states rights" raised by certain Southern gentlemen when the federal government undertakes to legislate for the general welfare in permitting American soldiers to vote, abolishing the poll tax, extending federal aid for improvement of education, or outlawing lynching. States rights are secondary to the national welfare; in the same way, national sovereignty can be in fact maintained only within a framework of collective security.

Proposals for international economic planning and action in the interest of the colonies and the general welfare have come from many sources and in England as well as in the United States. The British Labor Party has recommended it. Mr. Julian Huxley has cited the great federally-sponsored TVA project as an example of the kind of development needed in Africa, and another Englishman, Mr. E. M. Hugh Jones, an Oxford professor, has written: "Whatever relationship is established between colonies and the older countries will have to run parallel with the integration of relationships between the older countries themselves. . . . What is needed is a system of development boards, open to international subscription, in whose work international rivalries may become of international benefit."

The Acting Director of the International Labor Office has urged the establishment of a general world economic framework, and has given the warning that, "the world cannot be stable if it is half prosperous and half poverty stricken."

In the United States 144 Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant leaders included the following as one of their seven principles of world peace: "International economic collaboration to assist all states to provide an adequate standard of living for their citizens must replace the present economic monopoly and exploitation of natural resources by privileged groups and states."

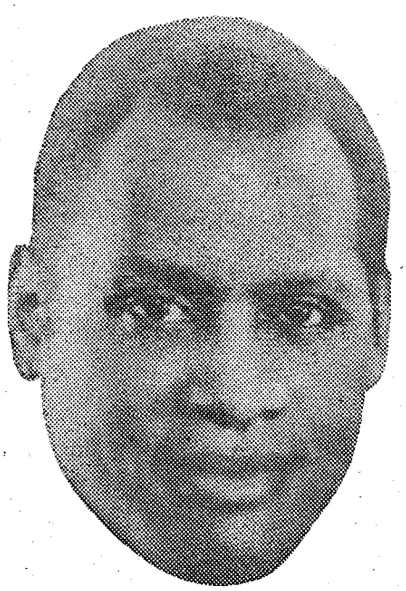
Another group of British church leaders has declared: "We welcome the idea of an international colonial commission . . . to supervise the application of pooled international resources in carrying forward economic and social development and to watch over the development of self-government."

And for those who may be wondering about the business man's point of view, let me mention the Postwar Problems Committee of the National Association of Manufacturers in the United States, which has recognized that both private enterprise and government must provide capital funds for the improvement of undeveloped countries.

Finally, let me refer to the testimony of Mr. Henry S. Villard, recently appointed Chief of the Division on African Affairs in the State Department. Mr. Villard says: "If we wish to obtain benefits from the development of Africa, in the interest of all peoples—including the natives themselves—capital must be supplied for various purposes and from various sources: philanthropic, commercial, and perhaps international. The proof of our sincerity in fulfilling hopes awakened during these years of war will lie in our willingness to contribute to and invest in the future of Africa."

I am fully aware of the fact that the provision of funds for colonies from an international pool under the administration of an international agency is not of itself a guarantee of benefits to the colonial peoples. In another period than the present, I would be inclined to consider it dangerous, since a combination of masters is a more formidable adversary than one master. But we must remember that today's world situation has brought into being a unity among nations such as never before existed, and these nations must now plan

One of the Greatest



PAUL ROBESON is one of the world's greatest artists. Internationally famous in practically every field of creative endeavor—music, the theater, films, radio—he will be guest of honor on his forty-sixth birthday, next Sunday, April 16, at a party sponsored by the Council on African Affairs and held at the 17th Regiment Armory, 34th Street and Park Avenue, New York City. Hundreds of his fellow-artists will be present, along with thousands of non-professionals who also want to pay tribute to an outstanding citizen and a great Negro leader.

"New Masses" is proud to claim Paul Robeson as one of its contributing editors, and we join with the rest of the democratic world in saying "Happy birthday."

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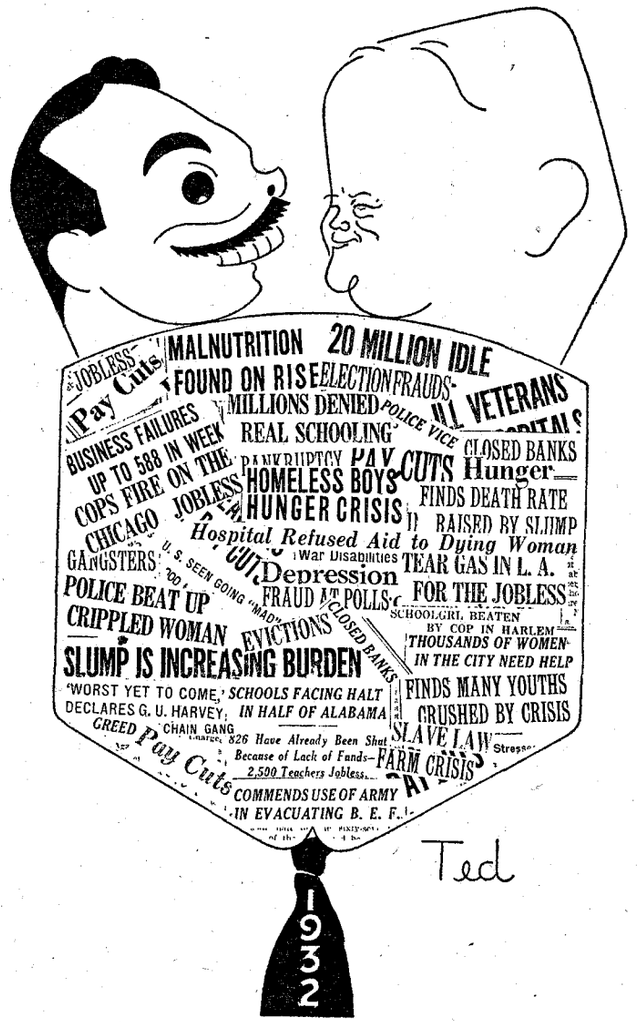

"We'll bring back the good old days, Tom."

a workable economy for the security of all or face national and international chaos.

THE international agency which I envision would include the United States and the Soviet Union, even though they have no African colonies. It is to these two great nations that the African looks for help and deliverance. The magnificent experience of the Soviet Union in raising the status of the former backward colonial peoples of east Russia would be indispensable. The agency would include also African representatives, who know best the requirements of their own people.

It would study and provide for the educational, health, social, and economic needs of the people on a broad regional and continent-wide scale. It would maintain and develop further the progress made in transportation and communication, largely under lend-lease auspices, during the war.

It would harness the vast water power and explore and develop the still untapped mineral resources—especially coal and iron deposits. It would foster the growth not only of secondary industries, but also heavy industry in West and East Africa, so as to prevent these areas from becoming economically dependent upon South Africa, which now has the only heavy industry on the continent and foreign capital investments amounting to more than those in all other parts of Africa combined—excepting only North Africa and Egypt.

In all these undertakings the international agency would seek to limit and reduce the power of alien economic interests in Africa, although of course guaranteeing the security of and a reasonable return on foreign investments. Further, it would insure that all new developments of natural resources, large-scale industries and public utilities were undertaken by African cooperative and public enterprise, with foreign technical assistance as needed, rather than by European private enterprise. This, in the final analysis, is the only means of guaranteeing that an African economy in the general interest of the people was being developed.

The rise of an industrial economy would carry with it the development of a politically-conscious proletariat and flourishing trade unions. There is, indeed, already the beginning of an organized labor movement among Africans in some parts of West and South Africa, although it is not legally recognized in the latter area. This development, coupled with the granting of full civil and political rights to the people, would lead to the substitution of complete African self-government in place of the old colonial regime.

All necessary measures must be taken to provide for such political autonomy simultaneously with the attainment of a substantial degree of economic self-sufficiency, and definite time limits of twenty years or less, varying with the present state of development of given areas, must be set within which the right of political self-determination may be exercised, precisely as provided by the United States in the case of the Philippines.

An essential part of this program of political development is the application of the principles of the Atlantic Charter to the former Italian colonies and the present mandated areas. And further, as Lord Hailey himself has pointed out, "one of the first matters claiming attention must be the readjustment of the purely artificial boundaries established by the accidents of history, resulting in economic and political inconveniences of which all students of African conditions are only too conscious."

There may be some who question whether the achievement of self-government by the dependencies would not be accompanied by their repudiation of their overseas indebtedness. The history of the British Empire leads to no such conclusion. This did not happen when the dominions reached their sovereign status, and today the volume of British investments in Canada, Australia, South Africa, or even New Zealand is far greater than in the African colonies. The rise of dependencies to political independence means the *increase* of world trade, which, as we have seen, will be so vitally necessary for postwar worldwide economic security.

Canada has its role—an important role—to play, not only in Empire decisions affecting the colonies, but also in the plans for world reconstruction which must be made within the larger sphere of the United Nations. We in the United States look to Canada to support the progressive and democratic outlook for such world reconstruction.

Let us remember that in supporting the cause of liberation for Africans, Indians, and other subject peoples, Americans and Canadians are helping to insure jobs, a decent standard of living, and peace and security for themselves. The colonial people's problems are our problems. Civilization, freedom, security, prosperity, and peace are indivisible. These things must exist for *all* peoples and nations, or they can exist for *none*.

Dr. Yergan is Executive Director of the Council on African Affairs.

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ALBANY AUTOCRAT

By MAX GORDON

THE 1944 session of the New York State legislature closed with a scene so startlingly appropriate as to appear staged.

A comparatively minor bill dealing with an administrative problem in the New York City school system had been defeated in the state Assembly the day before the session closed. A product of the notorious Rapp-Coudert witch-hunt committee, the purpose of the bill was to strip the local board of superintendents of policy-making powers and to centralize those powers in a single superintendent of schools. Bitterly opposed by all teachers' organizations as an undemocratic step, the measure had, nevertheless, passed the Senate.

Following the defeat of this purely local bill in the Assembly, Governor Dewey, to everyone's astonishment, stepped in, had it called up again, and cracked the whip over the heads of the Republican legislative leaders and of the other GOP Assemblymen who had voted against it. So insistent was he on passing this measure that in the course of a turbulent roll call in the final hours of the session, one Republican, friendly to the teachers, ducked under his desk to avoid having to cast his vote. This particular sample of the autocratic handling of the state legislature by the man who seems destined to be the Republican candidate for President received wide press comment. The public was thus finally let in on what was known to every newspaperman, lobbyist, and legislative employe in Albany.

To me the most significant expression of Dewey's ruthless, dictatorial attitude toward the legislature came much earlier in the session. It was the admission made by Assembly majority leader Irving Ives, on the day the governor's budget was presented to the Assembly, that he had no knowledge of its contents.

Under ordinary circumstances, it is almost unheard of for a chief executive, whether President or governor, not to consult with legislative leaders in preparing his budget. They, after all, are the ones who have to steer it through the legislature. Dewey's predecessor, Governor Lehman, used to call in for consultation not only the leaders of his own party, but the Republican leaders as well. In this case, the legislative leaders are men with many years of experience, while Dewey is a novice at state administration. Yet he completely ignored them in drafting the budget.

Ives' admission made me wonder about the resignation of Abbott Low Moffatt, who had headed the Assembly Ways and Means Committee for a number of years, and was the Republicans' financial wizard. Moffatt had unexpectedly quit the Assembly, after more than a decade of service, immediately after the 1943 legislative session. This was the first under the Dewey administration. Checking with some of the veterans around the Capitol, I learned that Moffatt had resigned because he couldn't stomach Dewey's arrogant, dictatorial methods. There is now talk of the possible resignation of at least one other leading GOP figure.

Legislative observers, fully aware of this relationship between the Governor and the Republican leaders, freely predicted a crack-up during the course of the session. If it failed to materialize, it was largely because this is a presidential election year, and in Dewey lies the chief GOP hope for ending the long drought. Another, more devious reason for the supine attitude of the legislative leaders may be found in Dewey's activities in connection with the investigation of the Albany Democratic machine. When Dewey started this investigation, the O'Connells, who head the Albany machine, retaliated by launching an investigation into "irregular" legislative financial practices. That these practices exist is no secret to anyone. Dewey thereupon superseded the Albany district attorney and appointed his own special prosecutor to continue the legislative investigation. He is said to be using the facts uncovered as a club to keep his own legislative leaders in line.

THERE has been no effort on the part of those connected with the legislative leaders to hide their dislike for the governor. For instance, in a purely informal chat with one of the men who handle public relations for the legislature, I asked how it was that these leaders were willing to take Dewey's dictation after all the criticism levelled by the GOP against President Roosevelt's supposed "usurpation" of congressional powers.

"Well," he said, "they realize they're stuck with him for the next three years. They figure they'll play along with him publicly, and try to get what they can privately."

But, I protested, they're playing his presidential game. Surely they recognize the danger to the country if such a man should become President.

"Some people," was his cynical answer, "would do anything to get him out of Albany."

There were, of course, plenty of differences between the governor and the legislative leaders on matters of policy which were fought out behind closed doors. The GOP leaders, for instance, wouldn't accept Dewey's niggardly policy toward the returning veterans, and they forced a slight change in his program for unemployment insurance for the ex-servicemen. Being shrewd politicians who had learned through the years that they have to make compromises with the powerful labor and progressive movement in the state, the leaders also thought the Governor's reduction in state aid to education was stupid. Struggles likewise developed on questions of patronage. Dewey tried to transfer some of this patronage from the local governments to the state, in order to strengthen his own machine. Naturally, the local Republican leaders, including the legislators, resisted, with a fair amount of success.

BEHIND the dictatorial attitude of the governor toward the legislature lay his driving ambition to succeed to the presidency. Every act of his was coldly calculated to advance that ambition and everyone knew it. Hence he would brook no opposition from the legislature, which was not entirely disposed to arrange its affairs to accommodate him. No newspaperman, or other Capitol observer for that matter, questioned for a moment that he is a presidential candidate, despite his denials. With Willkie's retirement from the race, Dewey's nomination now appears certain.

There is not the slightest doubt in my own mind that he has been groomed for the candidacy by Herbert Hoover ever since the disastrous 1940 Republican convention, in which Wendell Willkie took the nomination away from him. There are numerous reports of meetings between Hoover and Dewey in the period before the 1942 Saratoga convention, which nominated Dewey for governor, and during the gubernatorial

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campaign itself. Hoover seems to be a fairly permanent resident of the Waldorf-Astoria in New York, and a frequent guest at Hugh Gibson's estate in the village of Pawling, N. Y. Pawling is also the home of Governor Dewey.

A few months ago, when Alf Landon came to New York, he saw Dewey after he had talked with Papa Hoover, and then told the press that the New York governor would make a very good President.

BY DENYING his candidacy Dewey avoids the necessity of taking a position on problems of foreign and national policy, and hence can appear to be all things to all men. Moreover, if it should turn out that President Roosevelt's reelection by a wide margin is certain, Dewey can gracefully remain out of the picture. The fact that every move the governor made in the course of the legislative session was dictated by his presidential ambitions was so thoroughly accepted by newspapermen that even those who wrote for the pro-Dewey press couldn't avoid "slanting" their stories. The tendency became so pronounced that Dewey began to complain to publishers that he was being "needled." And more than one correspondent, after receiving a calling-down from the editor, was bitter about the governor's efforts to shape the news to his own liking. One of the most prominent of the correspondents, who is the soul of "objectivity," confessed to me that he felt he was not telling the truth unless he "interpreted" his stories.

An outstanding example of this necessity to "interpret" was Dewey's handling of anti-discrimination measures introduced by his own committee on discrimination. The committee offered two bills. One would set up a permanent state fair employment practices committee, and the other, a civil rights bureau charged with enforcing the many anti-discrimination laws now on the books. Pressure for these bills was very great. Dewey and his legislative leaders kept stalling for weeks while the legislative session drew to a close. Finally, in the last days, the governor sent a message shelving the bills and proposing the establishment of another commission—the third in six years—to "study" the question of discrimination. Eight Negro and white members of Dewey's committee on discrimination thereupon resigned in protest. Everyone knew that Dewey was playing for the support of the southern delegations to the Republican convention. Establishment of a permanent FEPC in New York State under his administration would do him no good among the delegates from the poll-tax states, or for that matter, among the anti-Semites and arch-reactionaries from other states upon whom he depends for the nomination.

The fact is that Dewey's record on discriminatory legislation is a disgraceful one. In sharp contrast to the ringing denunciations of Jim Crow and anti-Semitism, and the persistent proposals to combat them, which Governor Lehman's annual messages to the legislature used to contain, Dewey's message this year didn't even mention the subject. And yet, that message was delivered at a moment when the press was reporting daily occurrences of anti-Semitic violence in the streets of New York, when the echoes of Detroit, Beaumont, and the August 1 disturbances in Harlem had not yet died down. Reflecting the intense public feeling on the question, bills to combat discrimination flooded the legislature. A number of these bills called for the setting up of special agencies. Others asked for stiffer penalties for discriminatory practices. Still others asked for the outlawing of agitation directed at spreading race or religious hatred. Only a single measure got through, a minor bill which stiffened penalties for desecrating cemeteries and places of religious worship. This is the worst record on this issue established by any state legislature for at least the past decade.

Dewey has also wooed reactionary support by wrapping himself in the shabby banner of "states' rights." During the reading in the Assembly of his message on the soldier vote, in which he bitterly attacked the federal government for its disregard of "states' rights," I heard an upstate Republican legislator remark, "My God, he sounds more like the governor of a poll-tax state than like the governor of New York."

THIS issue of "states' rights" deserves further examination as a supreme example of Deweyan hypocrisy. I have observed the New York legislature in one capacity or another for the past eight years. Since 1939, the Republicans have been in control in both houses. I have yet to hear them raise the question of federal "interference" with the state on a single specific issue. Governor Dewey himself, in discussing the preservation of "states' rights" in his annual message, could find no better illustration than the civilian defense apparatus which, he asserted, had been allowed to deteriorate under the Lehman administration because of too great a reliance on the federal set-up.

As a matter of fact, this stalwart champion of "states' rights" has continually condemned the federal government for not doing enough "interfering" when it comes to particular problems. For instance, when he introduced his flimsy child care program last year, he prefaced it by citicizing the federal administration for not solving the problem. At the present time, in war impact areas of the state, the federal government provides one hundred percent of the initial cost and fifty percent of the upkeep of child care centers, while the state contributes only one-sixth of the upkeep. The Governor insists that every project eligible for federal Lanham Act funds apply for them before it can obtain state assistance. His original idea was that state funds be used only as a stopgap until federal funds were received.

When the Governor decided to come forward as the savior of the New York farmers, who were plagued with a non-existent feed shortage, he first assailed the federal government for not solving this problem too. When Dewey advanced his program for unemployment insurance for jobless veterans of this war, he stipulated that if the federal government granted the veterans anything at all, the state program was to be scrapped. Sharp protest from the legislative leaders resulted in an amendment which provided that only if the federal government should grant some form of unemployment benefits or periodic payments would the state program be eliminated.

"STATES' rights" advocates usually inveigh against alleged centralization of power on the ground that local self-government is the foundation upon which democracy rests. I doubt, however, whether any recent New York governor has interfered so arrogantly in the affairs of local governments as has the present incumbent. The Coudert bill cited earlier is only a minor example. The most glaring case was the proposal to take from the people of New York City the right to elect their Supreme Court judges. According to Dewey's plan, the governor would appoint the judges and, after a trial period, the people would vote whether to accept or reject the appointments. If they rejected them, he would then appoint others. Dewey wanted to impose this plan upon the people of the city without their consent, but he didn't dare. He passed the buck to the legislature by proposing three alternatives. One would make the plan operative in the judicial districts in the city without a referendum vote of the people, while not changing the electoral system upstate; another would make the plan mandatory in the city while giving the people upstate an "opportunity" to adopt it by referendum; and a third would make it optional throughout the state.

The legislative leaders are upstate Republicans, where the GOP always succeeds in electing its judges. They had no intention of providing the governor with the means that would enable him eventually to take away from them the choice of Supreme Court incumbents, or that would enable future Democratic governors to choose upstate judges. They therefore turned down the entire proposal. This, incidentally, was the only program bill advanced by the governor that was defeated.

A second article will discuss Governor Dewey's position on foreign policy and his attitude toward key domestic problems.

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THE REBEL YELL

By VIRGINIA GARDNER

Washington.

A GREAT storm is blowing up here as a result of the Supreme Court decision outlawing the Texas white primary and the looming fight in the Senate on the House-adopted HR 7, the Marcantonio anti-poll tax bill. Poll-tax Senators are preparing to deliver their filibustering speeches in a high wind. Throughout the South wherever white supremacists are challenging pro-administration candidates in primaries, the already nauseous racist appeals marking the campaigns are sure to increase in desperation.

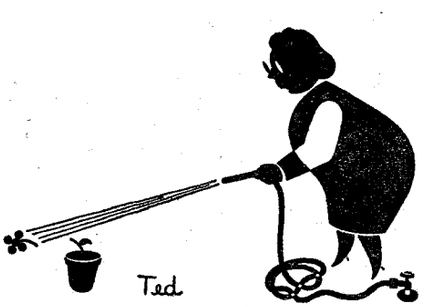
The old South is changing, its solidity breaking up. The movement to nominate Senator Byrd of Virginia for President in place of Franklin D. Roosevelt is getting nowhere fast. And certain of the worst poll taxers are having election troubles. A Washington *Post* columnist recently reported that Rep. Howard W. Smith of Virginia would be opposed this year by his own cousin, Rixey Smith, secretary to Senator Carter Glass. Senator Glass, though ill for many months, has come out in support of the President on such issues as the soldiers' vote and the veto of the tax bill. He appears to be one of those rarities, a southern conservative who places winning the war above partisan and sectional prejudice. Healthy movements are also on foot in Virginia to see that all of that state's delegates to the Democratic national convention are not pledged to Byrd.

On top of the other signs that the great combined effort of anti-fourth term Democrats and Republicans to split the Democratic Party is producing a mere mouse, Harry M. Woodring quit in dejection as chairman of the American Democratic National Committee, rallying center for the anti-administration Democrats. Woodring complained that anti-FDR men wouldn't speak out. The committee has petered out into a little group dominated by Robert M. Harriss, cotton broker who was Charles E. Coughlin's adviser on silver manipulations and is now a member of the continuations committee appointed by Frank Gannett's Chicago food conference last fall.

I decided to see Senator Josiah Bailey of North Carolina, one of the chief sponsors of Byrd for President, and get his thoughts on the poll tax and related matters. Senator Bailey is a courtly, gentle-spoken man who appears much younger than his seventy-one years. He thought Byrd and Farley would be a good ticket "under any circumstances." That was all he would say about it, though, and I doubt if he thinks there is any life left in a Democratic secessionist movement. He spoke of his independence—how he had refused to come out for Herbert Hoover in 1928, had stumped the state "from mountains to the sea" for Al Smith, although friends said it would be suicidal, and how this campaign "for religious liberty" sent him to the Senate two years later. A former editor of the *Biblical Recorder*, he advocated the first state appropriation for public schools and wrote the first child labor law in the South. "They called me a radical, and beat me for governor in 1924 on that basis," he said proudly. "Now they call me a conservative and the worst sort of Negro-hater," he said, sadly.

True, he had voted against the National Labor Relations Act and the wage-hour law. Seventeen tax bills had gone through his hands—he didn't say that his voice in them was as reactionary as that of Sen. Walter George of Georgia. He got along fine with Negroes. He cited as proof his two servants who have been with him twenty-five years, and his contributions to a Negro hospital. "But of course we cannot allow them to get in control in North Carolina," he said gently. "A horde of Negroes voting in the primaries might vote for the worst type of man, whereas in North Carolina we don't elect any sorry types, but only the best sort."

Naturally he would oppose HR 7, although North Carolina had abolished the poll tax. The Supreme Court decision "probably will destroy the legalized primary throughout the South," he said calmly. Asked what this meant, he said, "We'll probably go back to holding conventions." At present about 20,000 Negroes vote in North Carolina's primaries, which are all that count. If 100,000 voted, he said, "it would destroy the balance of power. Of course we can't allow that." But he regretted that northerners didn't understand how well he got along with Negroes, how much he did for them. And he wished I would do one thing—tell my magazine's readers that he was not controlled by any shipping lobby. He was hurt that Helen Fuller in the *New Republic* said he was influenced by Max Gardner, former North Carolina governor and big-time lobbyist here, and John Hanes, North Carolinian power in the US Shipping Lines. "John was in here recently and asked if the shipping lines had any chance of controlling aviation after the war, and I said, 'No, John.'"



WITH the same courtliness, and in well-rounded eighteenth-century sentences, Senator George said that the Supreme Court decision would tend to activize and solidify the opposition to HR 7. Sen. Kenneth McKellar of Tennessee, who will be one of the bill's most eager opponents, is guarded by his brother, Don, these days from reporters who won't agree in advance to do nice stories about him. Don had never heard of NEW MASSES but apparently regarded it as something quite as progressive as *Time* magazine, which, in describing McKellar's assault on TVA alluded to him as "the Senate's premier spoilsman, choleric old Kenneth McKellar" (he is seventy-five). Said Don: "My brother is an old man, and I told this young *Time* fella I'm not going to let any reporters in who are just going to write mean stories. Now if you were coming for valid information—" he cocked his head and looked up for assurance which was not forthcoming.

SEN. JOHN H. BANKHEAD II may be old, but his Alabama accent is not accompanied by the courtliness of Bailey and George, as OPA officials can testify. (The office walls of this ace subsidy foe display under glass a blue ribbon awarded him by the reactionary American Farm Bureau Federation.) Bankhead hunched his aged shoulders, worked his teeth silently and allowed as how the Republicans "will be divided" on HR 7, because they are "firm believers in the Constitution." This tribute to Republicans was his nearest approach to warmth. Asked about Sen. Joseph Guffey's remark that the soldiers' vote bill represented an unholy alliance, he said it was false, that there was no agreement with Republicans—just "convictions."

But what about the ordinary people of the South, Negroes and whites, who were interested in some of the issues such as voting, rather than the constitutionality which southern Senators always discussed instead of the issue? The Senator, who had called in his secretary to be present when he learned I was from NEW MASSES, shifted his teeth furiously and said, "Now, that sounds like a Communist question." He said the people of the South "may not know what it means" but are taught to

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love the Constitution. He ignored the Fifteenth Amendment. When he learned his questioner had come from Arkansas, he said testily, "You didn't find any white folks in Arkansas in favor of letting the federal government usurp our powers over the franchise, did you?" I said I thought there might be some who favored democracy for everybody. "Well, there may be some Communists in Arkansas."

SEN. JAMES O. EASTLAND of Mississippi, author of the principal amendment emasculating the soldiers' vote bill, was busy when I called, writing a speech attacking the Hillman Political Action Committee of the CIO, which he intends to deliver on the floor after the recess. I speculated that Martin Dies needed help, with the CIO so strong in his district (Dies has been busily smearing the committee). He hadn't reckoned when he got a war plant down in Orange County that a lot of new workers might get organized and he might have opposition. I understood there was a bunch of AFL people in the shipyards at Pascagoula, Miss., in the Senator's delta country, too. Maybe not this year—he's a new Senator—but mightn't they want to vote later, and did not that disturb him?

"Communism will never get a foothold in Mississippi," the Senator said sonorously. I was talking about unions getting a foothold, I said. He went on: "The South has the finest class of people in the world. We're not going to give way to aliens and agitators in the North—like Sidney Hillman." What he knew about the Hillman committee was what John L. Lewis said it was. That was enough for him. "John L. Lewis is of course the greatest labor leader in the land," he said.

The Supreme Court decision would have "absolutely no effect" on Mississippi, said Eastland, a youngish man and a positively classy dresser compared to his colleague, Theodore G. Bilbo, who goes in for matching ties and handkerchiefs and who has just got an entire new set of false teeth after forty years' service from the old plate, and is all ready for the filibuster.

"The question has been decided in Mississippi for eternity," Eastland went on. But did this mean Mississippi would defy the law? At this he turned on his questioner and declaimed: "Do you believe in intermarriage of the races? Do you?" His eyes glistened behind his rimless glasses and a suggestion of a smile, an unpleasant smile, hung on his thin lips.

He declared it was a "Communist calumny" that poor whites were barred from voting by the poll tax. "Anybody who wants to can vote, their poll tax will be paid for them." When asked if he thought this was very democratic, he said he didn't mean "poor white" votes were bought, but only that "friends" would pay their poll taxes. We laughed heartily over that one.

I asked him if he was anti-Semitic, too. "I'm not anti-anything," he said. "Just say I'm for the South. The South has the best educated people in the world. And the most ignorant are in New York City."

Asked what he meant by education, he amplified. "Well-read." What did the Senator like to read? "I've read everything," he said. But he wouldn't say what. I asked him to name one book he particularly liked, any book, current or classic. He was silent, then said simply: "Just say the Bible."

DOWN in Alabama another stripe of Senator is putting up a battle to keep his seat. Lister Hill has been an effective win-the-war Senator but he has never stuck his neck out even a little on the poll tax, soldiers' vote, or any other issue involving Negro rights. So his opponent, James A. Simpson, Birmingham lawyer and state senator, backed by the Associated Industries of Alabama in a race not unnoticed by the du Pont defeatist wing of the National Association of Manufacturers, campaigns almost solely on racist lines anyway. Alabama racists do not dare attack the President, but they attack his wife. Copies of the cover of *Alabama*, a monthly published in Birmingham by his backers, showing Eleanor Roosevelt having an orchid pinned on her by a Negro girl, and another cover showing her at a CIO servicemen's canteen, were widely circulated. The caption over the March 10 issue with the canteen picture: "Eleanor Serves While Races Commingle—and More Southerners Realize the Issue's Danger." A Federated Press story said Simpson's headquarters distributed to rural mail boxes a special printing of 200,000 copies of the *Greensboro Watchman*, "a poisonous local anti-Negro, anti-Jewish newspaper." It was Simpson who arranged for Sen. W. Lee O'Daniel's anti-labor speech before the state legislature.

Hill calls his opponents "Republicrats," and in Florida, according to columnist Drew Pearson, Republicans are pouring money into the campaign to beat Sen. Claude Pepper. His chief opponent is Ollie Edmunds, backed by the Associated Industries of Florida. The Byrd-for-President clubs there also oppose Pepper, who would be the logical leader in the Senate for approval of a decent postwar treaty. The attack on Pepper is largely racist.

Unfortunately some pro-administration candidates in the South, instead of campaigning on issues, try to prove they are just as anti-Negro as the white supremacists who oppose them. In South Carolina patriotism runs high; it is proud of its large number of volunteers in the armed forces. But Olin D. Johnston, former governor, who has labor support in a region where one-fifth of the voters are textile workers, has allowed Sen. Ellison D. (Cotton Ed) Smith and Eugene S. Blease, half-brother of the late Cole L. Blease, who advocated lynching Negroes when he was in the Senate, to make racism the big issue in the campaign. Blease and Smith, who alludes to the President as "that carpet-bagger," are backed by private power and textile interests. The Textile Institute of America contains both northern and southern mills, rayon and cotton. If any northern money is making its way into such campaigns, it is well hidden. Smith is old and crafty and a consummate actor. But the state is mighty tired of his attitude toward Roosevelt, who is well loved there, and South Carolinians are trying to get Economic Stabilizer James F. Byrnes to enter the race against the seasoned campaigner and ultra-reactionary, Smith.

Anti-Semitism is the stock in trade of a crudely fascist supporter of Sen. W. Lee O'Daniel of Texas, one Buck Taylor, who is campaigning against Rep. Lyndon Johnson of Texas, who is an OPA supporter. Taylor is slated to get out of the race later on after his poison is spread and let some more respectable opponent of Johnson capitalize on it. Taylor's picture, sombrero and all, adorns a little sheet he gets out, *Buck Taylor's Middle Buster*. The issue I saw stated: "I am all for congressional legislation and a federal constitutional amendment to curb the power of LABOR RACKETEERS, who, with the GINSBURGS AND BUREAUCRATS, now control our government." Opposite a reprint from the Memphis *Commercial Appeal* alluding to OPA Counsel David Ginsburg (now in the Army) as a "youthful draft dodger" and claiming his files perused by the Smith committee proved a "scheme to abolish the profit system," Buck says: "I despise the idea of putting a farmer in the penitentiary, or fining him $10,000 for giving a neighbor a settin' of eggs, a slab of bacon, or a mess of garden stuff."

John F. Cramer, columnist in the Washington *Daily News*, a Scripps-Howard paper, wrote last week: "Rep. Martin Dies is facing the toughest opposition of his career in the forthcoming Texas elections. District Judge Combs of Beaumont has resigned to run against him. He is one of the best beloved of all Texans." So, despite the endorsement of President William Green of the AFL, it looks as if Dies may be beaten—particularly with the Supreme Court ruling. Green also has endorsed the Republican defeatists, Sen. Gerald K. Nye and Representatives Stephen A. Day and Fred Busbey, Adam Lapin of the *Daily Worker* has disclosed.

There are some in Washington who shake their heads sadly and say the Supreme Court decision has hurt the fight for HR 7 because it makes the poll taxers fighting mad. Of course it does, because it deals them a mortal blow. And by the same measure it immensely heartens and strengthens those fighting for HR 7. The final jig will be up for the white supremacists within a short time. Meantime their desperate tactics should be met by a coolly determined fight to commit Senators to vote for cloture and to be present at all vote for cloture and to be present at all reader who begrudges the time and effort to write his Senator is aiding the poll taxers.

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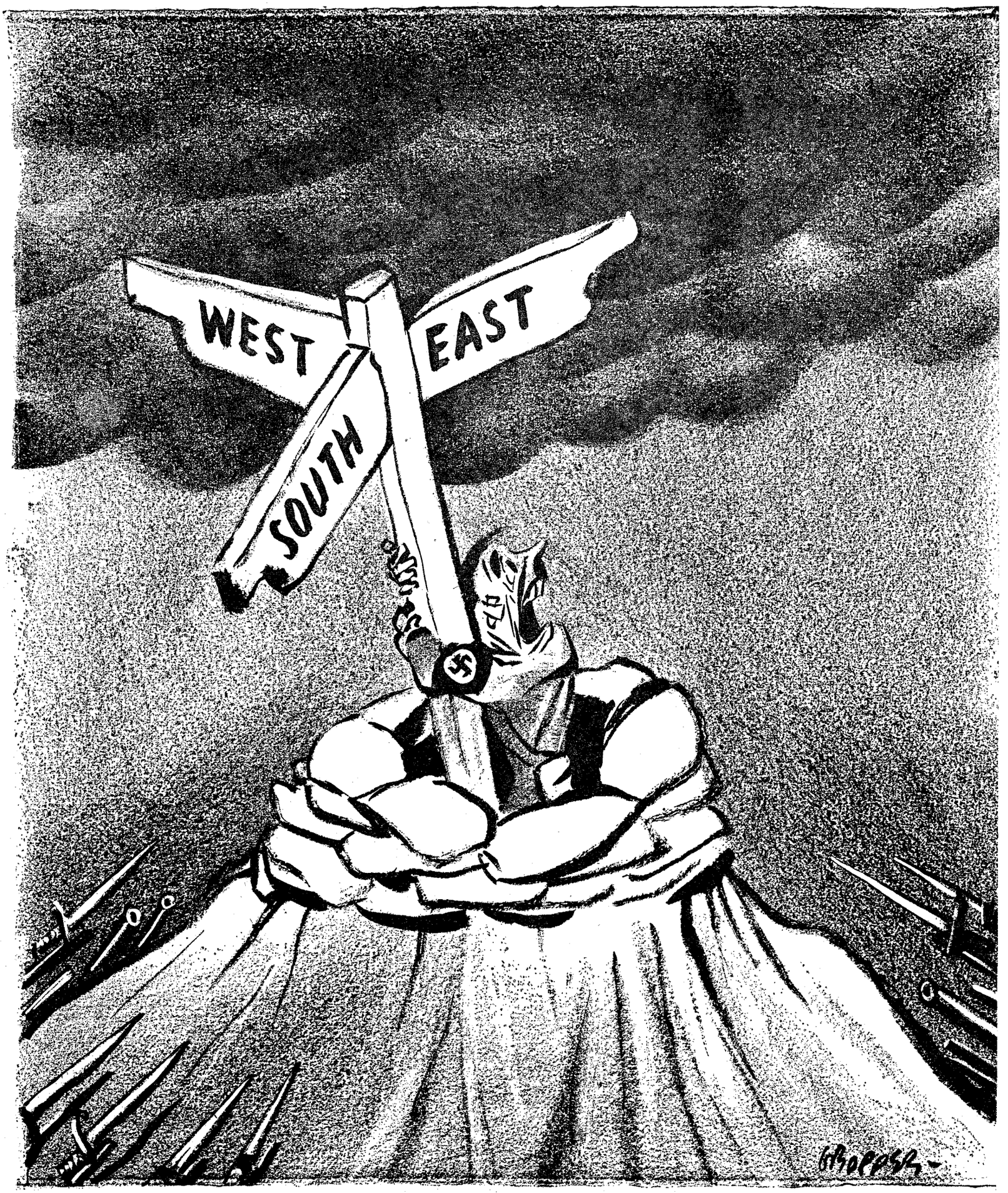

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HOW NOT TO USE AIR POWER

By JOSEPH REED

Last fall, American and British air commanders freely predicted that the sledgehammer of airpower would knock out German industry within a few months. Thus, on Oct. 15, 1943, Brig. Gen. Curtis E. Le May, commander of an Army Air Forces heavy bomber division, said "German industry will be destroyed by spring" by a hail of bombs.

It is obvious, of course, that nothing of the kind has taken place and that the ability of so-called strategic bombing to win an independent decision or to exert a decisive influence on events on the battlefield has been grossly exaggerated. Not only that, however. We are still employing airpower as a simple sledgehammer on the battlefield itself.

Such mistaken use of the airplane was responsible for our failure at Cassino. The principal feature of the third and strongest Allied attempt to take that fortress was the four-hour air bombardment of the town and its immediate environs on the morning of March 15. Nearly a thousand planes made 4,000 flights altogether and dropped 3,500 tons of bombs. Artillery simultaneously laid down a barrage forty percent heavier than was employed at El Alamein. German defenses were nevertheless unshaken. The reason is that the bombardment was a separate blow which preceded rather than accompanied the action of infantry.

During the last war, it was proved at a cost of many lives that preliminary bombardment, irrespective of weight, accomplishes little beyond running up the bill. At Ypres, Arras, in Champagne, at Loos, Verdun, the Somme, in Champagne again and at Paschendaele, the belligerent armies laid down barrages which have been equaled only a few times in the present war and then only on the narrowest fronts. Yet no break through was achieved. Well dug-in troops invariably survived the lesser barrages. In the case of the heavier bombardments, in each of which more shot was fired than in all the bloody years of the US Civil War, the target army merely withdrew from range, figuring correctly that the barrage guns could not be brought up fast enough to prevent successful counter-attacks on the enemy infantry moving forward after the barrage had lifted.

The bombardment of Cassino differs from the World War barrage only in having been carried out under less favorable conditions and in less effective form. First, instead of a system of earthworks, the target was a stone town. As we should have learned at Stalingrad, destruction multiplies the cover offered by a town or city built of stone and makes it easier to defend. Second, the use of planes compelled attackers as well as attacked to take hampering safety measures.

Two hours before a formation of thirty-six Mitchells opened the Cassino bombardment, Allied units retired a thousand yards from positions at the edge of the town to avoid being hit by their own aircraft. The time required to recross the strip after the last bomber had gone was ample for the return of the Germans, who had also left the town, and for those who had descended to Cassino's much exaggerated cellars (cellars and sewers are hardly an exclusive feature of Cassino) to come up. Consequently, the infantry sent in to "occupy" the town following the air assault not only found the Germans quite unpulverized but ready at their posts.

The Anglo-American belief in sledgehammer air bombardment has a complex origin. One factor is the air forces' desire for distinctive recognition, an urge which is not unnatural but one which, it should be noted, has been greatly stimulated by the activities of isolationists, who are not concerned with victory. Another is a combination of "common sense" and an all-too-frequent worship of statistics: "how can anyone," many of us—including some generals who ought to know better—reason, "stand up under such masses of explosive as our huge war industries produce?" Reasoning in such a fashion itself betrays a fundamental misunderstanding of what the soldier terms "fire."

One of the best-proved axioms of war —thoroughly and correctly emphasized in US Army manuals, by the way—is that fire must be combined with movement to be effective. What this means is that advances must be made not after or before but *during* fire. The reason is that fire has a second function more important than destruction: it makes the enemy duck and hence sharply restricts his ability to observe the attacker's movements or to return fire. In other words, fire gives the attacker freedom of action. But that freedom does not endure beyond the last barrage shot.

At present, the RAF and the US Army Air Forces by and large fail to comprehend this truth fully. The wedding of movement to fire demands the utmost coordination of all arms. Unhappily, the failure of some commanders to direct their thinking in that direction has given us not only Cassino but air forces whose major components are fitted only for war a la Cassino and which require considerable modification to adapt them to correct all-arm mobile warfare.

To begin with, in comparison with the Soviet and German, the American and British air forces contain an unusual proportion of four-motored bombers—Fortresses, Liberators, Halifaxes, Lancasters, and Stirlings. None of these is suited to closely coordinated ground-air action. Their requirement of the most elaborate repair and servicing facilities compels them to base far behind the lines and makes their shifting with an advancing army difficult. Second, the percentage out of action for maintenance work at any given moment is large. Finally, they are unmaneuverable and relatively slow and therefore vulnerable to flak (not to mention enemy fighters). As a result, those capable at all of daylight operations, the Fortresses and Liberators, make their bombing runs at altitudes of about 25,000 feet, levels at which precision is lost, the Norden bombsight myth to the contrary notwithstanding. Yet, since gun emplacements are smaller targets than factories, greater precision is demanded of battlefield than of strategic bombing.

The system under which the majority of Anglo-American medium, as well as all heavy bomber squadrons, operate is highly centralized, with missions originating at the divisional level or higher and reaching the squadrons only after passage through a complicated net of channels (planning, intelligence, and so forth). As a result, missions generally take twenty-four hours to prepare. Operations in the main follow this unwieldy pattern even in Italy, where we have been engaged on a land front for more than seven months. Such a system obviously precludes effective air participation in all but the most static ground actions. A thorough overhauling, it seems to me, is necessary, at least in other than heavy bomber squadrons. (Since heavy bombers cannot economically carry out any but their present missions, the latter might just as well be left as is.) Squadron organization should be decentralized and direct contact provided with ground units so that even such small units as a regiment may obtain prompt supporting fire for its movements, as well, of course, as up-to-the-minute reconnaissance reports. Some retraining of pilots and crews may also be required in the special problems of ground-air action, such as operation without elaborate preliminary target instruction or "briefing," instant recognition of "targets of opportunity"—that is, targets unexpectedly encountered while on patrol or other mission, and quick distinction between friendly and enemy ground forces.

Judging from newspaper reports it would seem that in anticipation of the second front, both the RAF and USAAF have established ground support forces in

(*Continued on page 31*)

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NM SPOTLIGHT

Mr. Hull's Speech

WE WERE not surprised by the contents of Secretary Hull's excellent and definitive exposition of our foreign policy. These columns have for months contended that our country does have a fruitful policy and that this policy is predicated on the sound principles of Allied collaboration for the war and the peace. It has always appeared to us ridiculous when a small though influential group in and out of Congress charges that we are floundering in stormy political seas for want of basic directives in the conduct of our international affairs. Those directives have been apparent from any number of agreements to which our government committed itself —from the Lend-Lease agreements down through the Teheran accord. Even the lowliest bellhop knew about them, but the Republican bigwigs, joined by irresponsible liberals, insisted otherwise. In Mr. Hull's speech they have their answer once again. His address should set them back on their heels, for it tears away every fantastic invention which the partisan-minded have devised to stir confusion about where we are going and how we shall get there.

On what pillars does our foreign policy rest? They are the four-power coalition and lasting friendship between ourselves, our leading allies and the other members of the United Nations. Unlike the 'thirties and very early 'forties our policy is no longer a makeshift, a hit and miss affair, or a day to day contrivance patched together out of wishful thinking and treacherous prejudices. Our policy now is rich and more mature. This is no small achievement, for we have come to the belief in the concept of coalition and grand alliance after many bitter experiences. Mr. Hull tells us as much at the outset of his talk. "We in this country have moved from a deep-seated tendency toward separate action to the knowledge and conviction that only through unity of action can there be achieved in this world the results which are essential for the continuance of free peoples." And from this fundamental observation flow all the conclusions he draws for future policy. Without harmony among the coalition's leaders, on whom rests the responsibility for successful warfare and successful reconstruction, the small nations cannot be safe, and in time an aggressor will rise again to scorch, plunder, and ruin.

Unity, then, is the basic English to describe our foreign policy. With unity all outstanding issues can be settled by agreement and compromise. All other issues in fact become secondary to the maintenance of harmony and good will. And with unity deeply imbedded and supporting all that we do and say, nothing can obstruct the road to stable progress in the economic sphere and the building of a stable Europe out of the chaos into which it has been thrust by Hitler.

Stability, after the extirpation of Nazism, is our goal. We want it everywhere. We want it in Italy, we want it in France. Mr. Hull has indicated that in France the French National Committee will be given every opportunity to exercise leadership in the administration of civil life. That is decidedly to the good and marks a definite advance over what so many have justifiably believed to be an immature attitude towards French problems. Our own conviction is that the government's position on the French Committee is not frozen and that it has been undergoing many changes, perhaps too slowly to keep pace with events, but changes for the better nevertheless. Even as it is presently constituted the French Committee is deserving of greater support than we have been giving it. The composition of the French provisional government in Algiers is a guarantee that France, until a permanent government agreed upon by the entire electorate is set up, will be ruled by a body endorsed by every major anti-fascist political group. The Committee also provides us with the means of facilitating our military plans. It will help in securing the Allied rear after the invasion. But most important, our active cooperation with it now, cooperation beyond that envisaged by Mr. Hull at this stage, will heighten the enthusiasm of a fighting people for whom the French Committee acts as trustee. To recognize the Committee and work in closest harmony with it does not, as we see it, compromise France's free choice of how and by whom she will be governed later. The Algiers government is exactly what it says it is—provisional. It would not have the support of the Communists nor would they participate in its work if the Committee in any way intended to limit the sovereignty of the French people or obstruct the road to future change. In our opinion, we shall have to recognize the Committee soon or late. If we do it now we shall reap the rewards of having acknowledged necessity and avoided the ill-feeling which delay may engender among many Frenchmen.

Mr. Hull is aware of the vast ferment which embraces the continent. His words in behalf of a democratic Europe will be passed from mouth to mouth, they will be spread through the underground grapevine, they will appear in hundreds of leaflets and illegal newspapers, they will bring joy and hope to thousands of European men and women who fight and wait for the day of deliverance. These are the fruits of a progressive foreign policy whose basic motivation is unbridled hatred for the enemy and devotion to our friends, who will show us their gratitude on D-day. The concept of foreign policy as a collection of diplomatic recipes, of a blueprint applicable to every given set of circumstances is not only false—it is infantile. Viewed in the context of broad objectives the Atlantic Charter, as Mr. Hull informs us, points "the direction in which solutions are to be sought; it does not give solutions." And the same is true of American foreign policy. Our policy is directed towards great humanitarian objectives. It is a modern policy for a modern world. It is an evolving policy whose potentialities for a better and more stable international community are clear to any mind that is not a roost for Dr. Goebbels.

The venal and the stupid will continue their quarrels with Mr. Hull and the President. Their false charges will comfort our foes particularly in this election year. It is also the year in which we face a hard military struggle. We cannot fall into the trap of partisanship without injuring our cause. We cannot enter into controversies which Berlin will advertise in its own interests. Every written and spoken word, every deed and act must pass the test of whether it welds greater unity, lifts morale, drives us forward on our chosen course. If it does not it will be a tragedy, to use Mr. Hull's closing words, "to you and to your children and to the world for generations."

Setback to the Poll Taxers

THE Supreme Court decision outlawing the Texas white primary is a great democratic act that will strengthen the unity of the people in the anti-Axis war even if it displeases a small clique of poll tax orators. Congratulations are due to all those who helped wage this fight to a successful conclusion, particularly to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which conducted the appeal. The NAACP has called on Attorney General Biddle to inform party officials in other southern states that exclusion of Negro voters from the primaries is a federal crime. There ought to be widespread insistence that any effort to subvert the decision, as a number of members of Congress and state officials have threatened, be prosecuted without delay.

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The decision, if carried into effect, demolishes one of the twin devices used in southern states to deprive the Negroes and a large section of economically depressed whites of the franchise. In 1927 the Supreme Court outlawed the Texas white primaries set up under the supervision of the state. The state thereupon got around this by vesting the right to bar Negroes in the convention of the Democratic Party on the ground that voting was limited to members of the party, which, as a private organization, had a right to determine its membership. This subterfuge was upheld by the Supreme Court in 1935. The latest decision, written by Justice Stanley F. Reed, with only Justice Owen J. Roberts dissenting, reverses the 1935 opinion. Justice Reed's statement that "Under our Constitution the great privilege of choosing his rulers may not be denied a man by the state because of his color," and that the state cannot nullify this principle "through casting its electoral process in a form which permits a private organization to practice racial discrimination in the election" are words of far-reaching import that reveal the vitality of our democracy in this people's war.

There still remains the second evil, the poll tax, which denies the right to vote to millions of Negroes and whites in eight states. The Supreme Court decision, as Virginia Gardner points out in her article in this issue, should spur the fight for passage of the anti-poll tax bill, HR 7, when the Senate convenes April 17.

Decision for Decency

FAIR minded Americans of every political persuasion will welcome the decision of the Board of Immigration Appeals withdrawing its warrant of deportation against Mrs. Raissa Browder, wife of Earl Browder, the general secretary of the Communist Party. Only those who incline toward the code of *Mein Kampf* will disagree: Mr. Hearst and Westbrook Pegler will find little comfort in the action. Theirs is the gallant code which would override any considerations of simple humanity—such as the persection of a mother of three children and scattering a family—merely because they don't agree with the father's political outlook. The way of the fascist in America has been weakened by this decision: it is cause for all democrats to rejoice.

The "Times" and a Deserter

WHILE the New York *Times* insists that relations with the Soviet Union be completely contingent on the USSR's agreement with the *Times'* economic and political credo, that newspaper also supplements its diktats to Washington by giving space to every anti-Soviet canard which its enterprising Social-Democratic journalists can fish out of the sewer. Victor Kravchenko, a deserter from the Red Army, is the *Times'* latest conquest. With the help of staff member Joseph Shaplen, Kravchenko is dressed up as an important Soviet official, when the fact is that he was nothing

Bill of Goods

DON'T be surprised if one of these days a group of irate bankers and industrialists gather in Times Square, New York, and hold a protest demonstration outside the Times Building. The *Times* seems so determined to misinform and mislead the conservative groups for whom it professes to speak that their patience must inevitably approach the breaking point. Consider the fantastic job that this newspaper, which prides itself on its journalistic standards, did with an article on the teaching of economics in Soviet schools, an abridged version of which appears in the Spring 1944, issue of *Science and Society*. This article, written by a number of leading Soviet economists, is designed to correct certain defects in teaching economics. However, in a news story by Will Lissner the *Times* describes this as nothing less than "a sweeping change . . . in Marxist economic dogmas" and "a revolution in the official economic philosophy of the Soviet Union." This "revolution," Lissner reports, consists in embracing all sorts of capitalist economic doctrines and practices, such as profits, wage differences, market prices, and taxes, and in affirming the progressive character of capitalism itself. And "this new theory removes contradictions of viewpoint impeding collaboration by the Russian socialist economy with the western industrial capitalist economies of the Soviet Union's democratic allies."

The next day the *Times* devoted its leading editorial to this newly discovered "revolution." The author of the editorial, having the advantage over his colleague, Lissner, in not having read the *Science and Society* piece, was able to embellish the garbled Lissner version with his own spectacular flights of fancy. We are told, for example, that the "new doctrine . . . in effect abandons the three most fundamental tenets of Marxist 'science' ": the doctrine of the class struggle, the materialistic conception of history, and the theory of surplus value. A careful reading of the *Science and Society* article reveals: (1) the doctrine of the class struggle is not even mentioned—incidentally, the class struggle, whether or not the editors of the *Times* choose to recognize it, is a fact of life discovered not by Marx, but, as he himself pointed out, by his bourgeois precursors; (2) the materialistic conception of history (historical materialism) is not only not abandoned, but is used to correct certain distortions that had crept into the teaching of economics in Soviet schools; (3) the theory of surplus value is likewise not abandoned, but, on the contrary, the article emphasizes that surplus labor, which creates surplus value (divided under capitalism into profit, interest, and rent), continues to exist under socialism, but instead of the surplus product being privately appropriated "by parasitic exploiting classes," it is "systematically devoted to purposes of accumulation" for the expansion of production and "to cover the current needs of society as a whole."

THE idea that under socialism there must be differences in wages stems not from Stalin, but from Marx. This is epitomized in the well known Marxist slogan: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work" (work including both quantity and quality). Only in the highest stage of social development, Communism, which has not yet been attained in the USSR, is it possible to replace this with the principle: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need." A statement of these basic principles in language simple enough even for an editor of the *Times* to understand can be found in Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Program*. As for capitalism, if the *Times'* editors are interested in a really eloquent tribute to its progressive and revolutionary historic role as compared with feudalism (or, for that matter, primitive communism), we suggest a document written some years prior to the spring of 1944—the *Communist Manifesto*.

The *Times* is trying to sell its readers a bill of goods: that the Soviet Union is moving toward capitalism and that this constitutes the basis for collaboration between it and the United States. We hope that not many businessmen are swallowing these inanities, for there is no more illusory basis on which to build a durable structure of friendly collaboration between the two countries.

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APRIL 13, the day this issue of New Masses is placed on sale, marks four months since Morris U. Schappes, noted anti-fascist teacher and writer, was sent to jail on a trumped-up perjury charge as a result of the Rapp-Coudert witch-hunt. Have you written to Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, Albany, NY., urging him to pardon Schappes?

more than a pipe inspector at the disposal of the Soviet Purchasing Commission in this country. And between Shaplen and Kravchenko, with the assistance of Arthur Sulzberger's high speed presses, a host of charges are produced against the USSR which put even Dr. Goebbels to shame for lack of imagination.

We ask, as did the conservative Jewish *Morning Journal* the other day, what kind of person is this Kravchenko who betrays his country "in the midst of a mortal war and when it fights so valiantly?" The answer is simple: every country has its traitors and defilers and the Soviet Union is no exception. They are invariably linked either in fact or spirit to the enemies of mankind. Our own traitors blare at us through the radio in Berlin or Rome. Their friends operate here under any number of disguises. The Soviet Union's own fifth column has been brought to account, but one or two of them manage to evade the most vigilant eyes. Kravchenko waited until he could join forces with his American counterparts to spew forth the views which he admits he "long felt in Russia." Those views are part and parcel of Nazism. They are identical with what the German propaganda machine has manufactured to smash the coalition and hamstring our war effort. Kravchenko is not only an enemy of his native land but an enemy of the United States and all our allies. He who harms the coalition harms us.

The *New Leader*, that Social Democratic repository of every indecent and scurrilous political opinion, naturally has the highest esteem for deserter Kravchenko. Its columnist Max Eastman uses Kravchenko's statement to besmirch those whom he calls "mush heads" for wanting close and friendly relations with the USSR. And since President Roosevelt is a leading proponent of such a policy, he too, according to the Eastman lexicon, must be a "mush head." In fact Eastman charges the President with being Stalin's dupe. Hearst and Goebbels could wish for nothing better and they are so delighted with Kravchenko's treachery that he has become the immediate hero of their propaganda warfare. This is the service which the New York *Times* performs for a country at war.

The Old Guard Takes Over

WENDELL WILLKIE has bowed himself out in an abrupt and dramatic climax to his campaign for the Republican presidential nomination. He is undoubtedly right in believing that he cannot be nominated. Even if he had won the Wisconsin primary, it would have been difficult for him to have wrested the nomination from the machine-controlled convention. For as the weeks have passed, it has become increasingly evident that more than ever are the Spanglers, Tafts, and Vandenbergs in the GOP saddle and that they are passionately determined to earmark the nomination for one who, if not outspokenly defeatist, can be counted on to take his cue from those who are.

With Mr. Willkie's retirement all possibility that the Republican Party nationally can be transformed into a vehicle for policies approximating those of the Moscow and Teheran conferences has ended. In this sense his defeat is a setback for the country as a whole. But Mr. Willkie's crushing defeat in Wisconsin is being interpreted by wishful commentators as signifying much more: a nationwide trend toward repudiation of international collaboration and of a fourth term for President Roosevelt. This is nonsense. These commentators overlook the fact that the man who got the most votes in Wisconsin was not Thomas E. Dewey, but Franklin D. Roosevelt, who was unopposed in the Democratic primary.

Even in regard to the Republican voters Wisconsin offers no ground for sweeping generalizations. Just why Mr. Willkie chose to make the test in that state is not clear in view of the fact that the Republican machine, which controls the state administration, is exceptionally reactionary, with America First elements well entrenched. Perhaps Mr. Willkie and his advisers felt that because in Wisconsin each party's primary is open to voters of any or no political affiliation, he would attract a substantial number of Democrats, Progressives, and independents. This calculation proved wrong. The Democratic voters chose to participate in their own party primary where the vote was surprisingly high considering that FDR was unopposed. And the fact that the Republican vote was actually 32,000 less than in 1940 would seem to indicate that it was limited almost entirely to regular Republican voters. To the extent that Progressive Party voters participated it is likely that, under the influence of the defeatist LaFollette leadership of that party, they gave their votes to Mr. Willkie's opponents, particularly to the candidates pledged to Gen. Douglas MacArthur to whose staff Phil LaFollette is attached.

Nor did Mr. Willkie help himself by some of his tactics. True, in his Wisconsin speeches he struck hard at the reactionaries in his own party and argued for the principles that had previously won him wide popular support. But at the same time he sought to placate these reactionaries with demagogic attacks on the Roosevelt administration, with the result that he alienated both the conservative Republican voters and the progressive Democrats and independents, including organized labor. It is, nevertheless, noteworthy that even under the most unfavorable conditions the combined vote of the Willkie candidates and of those pledged to Lieutenant-Commander Stassen, who is identified in the public mind with Mr. Willkie's views, was about thirty-six percent of the total, or only slightly less than the Dewey vote.

With Mr. Willkie out of the way, the field seems clear for Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, who has long been the favorite of the GOP high command. Dewey's political godfather is Herbert Hoover, who, according to Washington Merry-Go-Round, has been working energetically for his nomination. Hoover is an expert international operator, closely associated with Lindbergh and the whole negotiated peace crowd. Hoover's backing, the warm words about Dewey recently spoken by Col. Robert R. McCormick, and the pledge of support from Gerald L. K. Smith immediately after the Wisconsin primary fill in the long Albany silences and reveal the true political platform of the coy New York governor.

As for Mr. Willkie, though he has retired from the Republican race, he is too vital a personality to retire from political activity. In announcing his withdrawal he pledged to continue to work for the "principles and policies for which I have fought during the last five years." There isn't the ghost of a chance that the Republican Party will nominate a candidate representing those principles and policies. There is only one way that Mr. Willkie can work for them: to work for the reelection of President Roosevelt.

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AROUND THE WORLD

POSTWAR TRADE AND PEACE

Moscow (via Inter-Continent News).

IT IS already clear that one of the consequences of the war will be a major change in the volume, nature, and direction of world trade. The pre-war conditions prevailing in the world market no longer satisfy, either qualitatively or quantitatively, the standard of production attained by the leading industrial countries in the course of the conflict. The establishment and consolidation of the anti-Hitler coalition opens rich opportunities for postwar cooperation between the foremost democratic powers—which have been called upon to play a leading role in the world's future—and other peace-loving nations, big and small.

The determination of the United Nations to collaborate with each other in solving postwar international economic problems is witnessed by such international events as Teheran, the Moscow conference, the existing agreement between Allies on lend-lease supplies, the establishment of UNRAA, and the negotiations to organize a stabilization fund, etc. The obligation regarding economic collaboration in the sphere of postwar trade is provided for by Article VII of the Lend-Lease Agreement which is directed at eliminating all forms of unjust practices in international trade, at lowering tariffs and removing other trade barriers.

Once again the banner of free trade is being raised in capitalist countries. What is meant by "free trade"? Big capitalist circles in the United States oppose government interference in economic affairs, including foreign trade. Big American banks, for example, object to an international stabilization fund. These circles are of the opinion that everything should be left entirely to "private initiative." There are a number of other interpretations of the principle of free trade. Some leading figures in the United States, including Vice-President Wallace, claim that finance capital by denying government control in US foreign trade are trying in their own mercenary interests to institute their own control in this sphere.

All people who have given the matter any consideration agree that in the interests of really developing postwar world trade, the trade policy of the democratic countries should be directed towards developing normal world trade and removing the many obstacles that have accumulated in the interval between two wars. If it should be found impossible to eliminate harmful practices it would be expedient to bring them down to a minimum.

It has been pointed out that the "most favored nation" principle should be applied with reference to trade turnover among the United Nations. Such international collaboration in the sphere of postwar trade should be based on the democratic principle of respect for the independence of countries, big and small, which precludes the economic bondage of some countries or speculating on the needs of a Europe ruined by the Germans. There is no getting away from the fact that certain circles will strive towards a "free trade" which disregards the interests of economically weak countries or those wrecked by the fascists. Democratic forces must vigorously combat these tendencies. After the war the trade policies of the democratic countries must help promote the healthy economic development of all countries.

THE role of Britain and the United States in world trade after the war will naturally increase. Prior to the war these two countries occupied first place in the world market. The role in world export of certain other countries, such as Canada and Australia, will be also considerably enhanced. On the whole, export possibilities in world trade will in all probability be twice as great compared with actual world export in the pre-war period. Under the restricted solvency of the world market this signifies a perspective of the further aggravation and intensification of competition.

It is not without reason that financial and trading circles in the United States and Britain suspect each other of trying to strengthen their positions one at the expense of the other in the African, Indian, Latin American, and other markets. Taking advantage of the difficulties the war has placed in the way of Britain's foreign trade, American industrial and trading firms aim to take the place, in one way or another, of their British competitors in the trade of the Latin American countries, the Far and Middle East, as well as in the trade of such British dominions and colonies as Canada and India, etc. It stands to reason that the rivals of the American exporters—the interested British circles—have sharply reacted to American claims in this field. British business circles favor the distribution and division of world markets. Americans in the majority of cases favor free competition on the world market. In keeping with this, Americans are for a multilateral system of trade where the British are for a bilateral system. The Americans are supporting themselves on the great economic strength of their country and, reasonably, assume that in the conditions of free competition and a multilateral system of trade their position in the world market will be stronger than that of any other country. The British for their part accuse American business circles of placing big obstacles in the way of foreign goods reaching the American home market.

The great leap in the scope of American export cannot fail to raise questions of changing the policy in the sphere of imports, for agreements on mutual tariff concessions, which the United States has been concluding with other countries in order to mitigate somewhat the conditions governing imports, cannot fully satisfy the requirements of their business partners. The Americans themselves are beginning to realize this.

Trade with the Soviet Union will be one of the decisive factors in promoting postwar international commerce. Unquestionably trade relations with the Soviet Union will be of advantage to Britain and the United States and other countries. Provided the matter is wisely approached, the USSR can afford them a large and reliable market such as can hardly be expected of any other partner. The state nature of Soviet trade considerably facilitates the organization of mutual economic relations and releases exporters from the risk of losing their investments as the result of possible bankruptcy. It is also quite clear that the scale and structure of Soviet imports will depend to a considerable degree on the extent and conditions of credits which will be granted the Soviet Union. The mutual interests of the export countries and the USSR raise the question of big, long term credits. Naturally the Soviet Union, which is a powerful industrial country possessing many kinds of resources, will come forward on the world market not only as the purchaser but also as the exporter of a number of commodities.

The development of world trade can and must substantially help preserve and strengthen universal peace.

A. F. VOSKRESENSKY.

The article above is from a recent issue of the "War and the Working Class."

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FRONT LINES by COLONEL T.

THE RED ARMY'S MOVES

ON APRIL 2 Marshal Stalin announced that the Red Army had crossed the state frontier of the R into Rumania. On April 8 he anced that the Red Army had reached frontier of Czechoslovakia near the ar Pass.

his means that two spearheads are d and aimed at a possible junction with shal Tito's forces. Marshal Zhukov d conceivably move from the Tartar toward Belgrade across the Transylan Plateau (a distance of 280 miles, out a single serious natural obstacle een the Carpathians and the middle ube) while Marshal Konev could e, skirting the Carpathians on the east, ugh the Galatz-Fokshani Gap to the Gate of the Danube (a distance of t 300 miles). In the case of Konev, ral obstacles would be abundant, be- between the Siret where Konev now ds and the Danube no less than thirty sized rivers run athwart this operaul direction. While we have always ntained that Napoleon was right when aid that "rivers are first class obstacles for third class armies," in this case ntity may change into quality: thirty s means scores of pontoon bridges just g one line of communications, and is a terrific number of pontoons. Thus, e not overestimating the strength of the atz-Fokshani position, which Mr. Han- W. Baldwin throws across the path of Red Army with such obvious glee, still realize that Marshal Konev's ch through Moldavia and Walachia ld be no picnic, especially beyond sti.

ow let us look at Marshal Zhukov's ion. Stalin's announcement says that Red Army has reached the state fron- which runs between the USSR and choslovakia along the Carpathian di- , i.e., roughly along the crests of the ntains and directly across the passes. s "reaching the border" must mean acquiring possession virtually of the est points. Look at the map and you see both *cis*-Carpathian and *trans*pathian rivers running respectively south north from the border line. This means Zhukov's men have accomplished per- the most difficult part of the Carpathimarch and an irruption into the plain nd the mountains is quite possible in nearest future. It may well be taking e at this writing (April 9).

While Zhukov is knocking at the gates of Czechoslovakia, whose five-year "prison term" may nearly be over, and Konev marches down the Moldavian plain toward the Fokshani Gap, General Malinovsky has taken Odessa.

The Black Sea Fleet, which Mr. Hanson W. Baldwin describes as "battered remnants," will now enter the picture and give "Him-Who-Gets-Slapped-by-the-Red-Army" the lie again. With the capture of Odessa by Malinovsky, the position of the Germans in the Crimea has become untenable for long and Constanta will be blockaded.

In connection with the victorious march of Marshals Zhukov and Konev, the first harbinger of Allied strategic cooperation, born of the decisions of Teheran, has made its appearance over the 300 mile gap separating the Red Army from the nearest units of the Yugoslav Army of Liberation: Allied bombers, based in Italy, have blasted some key-points of Nazi communication lines between Germany and the Rumanian front—Bucharest, Budapest, Zagreb, Ploesti, and other points which were not clearly identified.

THUS direct operational cooperation between the western Allies and the USSR has been established. The importance of the fact itself is truly great. It would seem to us at this stage that the political meaning of these bombings far exceeds their military importance. As experience has shown, railway communications must be battered constantly in order to stay "out." Furthermore, our famous high altitude "precision" bombing does not seem to be any too effective against precision targets. General havoc—yes; but pinpoint demolition, such as against railways—is another story (note that we have never been able to knock out the Rome marshalling yards). Thus, the Allied air forces will have to visit the key junctions between Vienna and Bucharest almost daily and bomb them at low levels before any appreciable effect will be felt on the Rumanian front.

Mr. Edwin L. James, the "inspiration" of the New York *Times*' anti-Soviet policy, already mumbles something about the Russians' "duty" to do some strategic bombing in the Balkans themselves. Mr. James obviously thinks that the Allies have already overstrained themselves in dropping a few bombs on Budapest and Bucharest and that Russian gratitude is almost overdue.

While acknowledging the importance of inter-Allied cooperation over the gap between Marshal Zhukov and Marshal Tito, let us not exaggerate its purely military portent.

It would be vastly more important to divert some of the "unemployed" troops in Italy and send them to reinforce Marshal Tito so he could effectively push to the valley of the Sava and Danube to meet Marshals Zhukov and Konev. The great strategic possibility is right there. Why not seize it, instead of limiting our action to throwing more tin cans over the fence?

The Soviet High Command will probably continue to use its air force for the most part tactically and operationally (i.e., on the battlefield in support of troops and in the immediate enemy rear). To them the air force is an extension of artillery and they do not believe in its purely strategic function, just as nobody believes in an independent functioning of artillery. Both "artillery duels" and "strategic bombing" when unaccompanied by land fighting are sure signs of military stalemate.

Thus it must be acknowledged that in the fighting in the European theater a stalemate still covers all areas west of the Riga-Lvov-Bucharest line, with the notable exception of Yugoslavia, where men virtually without planes and tanks manage to fight a considerable number of German troops.

IN THE Pacific our central naval battering ram has reached to within less than 500 miles of the Philippines. It has struck at Palau, Yap, and other correlated enemy bases, destroying all Japanese ships found in those harbors, and knocking down a lot of Japanese planes. Most of the Marshalls atolls have been cleared. In short, the shadow of our air-sea power has touched the Japanese inner defenses. It would seem clear that we are driving for an eventual landing in South China. This means that the Japanese must at all cost prevent the reinforcement of the Chinese armies via a new Burma Road and must make another attempt at Changsha this spring to establish direct north-south communications for their armies in China. This is why they are marching into India. Their object is to cut the Bengal-Assam railroad and force General Stillwell to give up the construction of the Ledo Road. The stakes are great for the Japanese. This is why the over-optimistic and lighthearted attitude of the British Command in India is so surprising.

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THOMAS JEFFERSON'S PHILOSOPHY

By FRANCIS FRANKLIN

On the occasion of the 201st anniversary of Thomas Jefferson's birth, April 13, we are happy to present this article by Francis Franklin. Mr. Franklin is the author of the new book, "The Rise of the American Nation," recently issued by International Publishers, and is a member of the faculty of the Jefferson School of Social Science.

A CURIOUS thing happened in the history of our country following the early Jeffersonian period which preserved nd extended the democratic achievements f our War for Independence. In no coun- ry, except in the Soviet Union after 1917, vas any stable government ever founded o consciously on the basis of political phi- osophy as was that of the United States 1 1789. (The first French Republic was ounded as consciously on the basis of heory as was the United States, but it did ot endure in the face of counter-revolu- on as did the American government.) 'he leaders of our Revolution united ieory with practice and widely dissem- iated their philosophy, which was openly olitical and completely divorced from re- gion to a degree unparalleled in previous istory. The Hamiltonian Federalists fol- owing the Revolution enunciated a clear- ut reactionary theory, and the Jefferson- n Democrats, who triumphed over the lamiltonians, organized their party and uided their campaigns by the democratic ıilosophy which Jefferson wrote into the)eclaration of Independence. Yet after ıe war of 1812, theory was quietly aban- oned. With few exceptions party conflicts volved around immediate issues divorced om long-range perspectives, for which eory is necessary, and it became tradi- onal for political contests to center around rsonalities rather than even the immedi- e issues. Americans became famous for a rtain narrow practicality, which was be- ved to hold theory and political philoso- y in contempt. Today, most Americans ve forgotten that philosophy ever played great role in American life.

Although the conscious application of po- ical theory to social problems tended to appear in the course of our history, the volutionary philosophy of the eighteenth ntury left its imprint upon our institu- ns, customs, habits, and modes of speech. hus, it is a part of our heritage, persist- g in phrases and slogans which every nerican employs. Every schoolboy learns them. We read them daily in the news- papers and hear them in every political speech. Yet they persist in a fragmentary form, and very few realize that these cus- tomary phrases were originally derived from a systematic body of theory, which embodied not only a theory of government but a concept of the nature of the universe as well. Thus, our theoretical heritage has become largely unconscious. We have been like the man who spoke prose all his life without knowing it.

MEN need science when they are con- fronted with great problems. If the pressing problems are those of manufactur- ing, physics and chemistry will be the sci- ences receiving major attention from those in control of industry; and these, of course, are the sciences which have been most highly developed in the United States since the commencement of our industrial ac- tivity after the Civil War. But when the problems are economic, political, or social, there must be a quest for social science. Of the latter variety were the problems which confronted us during the revolution- ary and formative period of our nation.

Again today, it is economic and political problems which are taking precedence over all others. Men of all classes are recogniz- ing increasingly that to solve the problems of our postwar world, which are insepar- able from the supreme problem of win- ning the war now, we must have theory. There is no body of knowledge in existence which can offer us ready-made formulas for solving our problems, which are abso- lutely unprecedented. We ourselves must *discover* the answers. This means, of course, that we must not merely learn the science that already exists, but we must *add to* the body of scientific knowledge that has been accumulated in the past. We must *develop* that knowledge further by applying it to *new* problems. Every new development in science has always been based upon the study and mastery of ex- isting science. Without that we would be like infants, striking out hopelessly in the dark. But our study of science becomes barren scholasticism unless we master it consciously with the aim of using it and developing it to solve the new problems.

Since it is more or less universally recog- nized that we stand in need of social science, we would do well to become con- scious of that body of social theory which is so much a part of our unconscious heri- tage, a theory which is part of a world view, and whose outstanding exponent in America was Thomas Jefferson. It would be idle to hope to find exact answers to the specific questions of our times in the phi- losophy of Thomas Jefferson. However, we would restrict our capacity to meet new difficulties were we to fail to master the theory and method which Jefferson enun- ciated.

IN OUR colonial period, Calvinism was the predominant and dynamic intellec- tual current by which most of our leaders were guided. Calvinism also deserves study, far more than it has ever received. There were several distinct variations of Calvin- ism, which reflected the needs and interests of different classes: (1) official, orthodox Puritanism, (2) Congregationalism, and (3) separatism, which, in the form of the Baptist Church, among others, joined forces with Jeffersonian democracy and

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helped establish our great American tradition of freedom of religion along with freedom of speech, press, and assembly, as well as universal suffrage. That the Baptists and other separatist churches joined forces with the Jeffersonian Party is an important fact to remember. It marks the stamina of a variety of Calvinism which is very strong and widespread to this day, and indicates Jefferson's marvelous skill as a democratic leader. Though possessed of a more advanced theory, he knew how to unite with all those possessed of democratic aspirations, regardless of their particular world views.

Calvinism has been very persistent in our national life. After the War of 1812, pragmatism in practice, long before William James and John Dewey formulated it as a philosophy, took the place of political theory. Eighteenth-century theory of a reactionary variety continued as a political philosophy predominantly among the slaveholders. In this situation, the Abolitionists revived Calvinism as a revolutionary moral force, some of them introducing into the old Calvinist tradition the new transcendentalist philosophy stemming from Immanuel Kant and Johann Gottlieb Fichte, the forerunners of Hegel. It was under the banner of Calvinism and moral idealism, conceived as identical with Jeffersonian democracy, that the Union armies marched into battle during the Civil War, manifesting a religious zeal very similar to that of the armies who fought under Oliver Cromwell during the Puritan Revolution in England.

Marxian theory, stimulated by problems which did not exist in Jefferson's day, made its first imprint on the American labor movement during the years of Abolitionist struggle preceding the Civil War. And Marxists in America have slowly learned—and are still learning — the relations between their theory and Jeffersonian democracy. To understand Marxian theory, the most advanced social science of our epoch, it is absolutely necessary to understand bourgeois democratic philosophy, of which Jefferson was the spokesman. There is also a connection, less direct but nonetheless real, between Marxism and Calvinism, which still colors the outlook of the vast majority of American Protestants. While the study of Calvinism for the purpose of understanding America's intellectual life today, as well as in the past, should not be ignored, the understanding of Jeffersonian theory is of course far more important.

It is not sufficiently realized that Jefferson's economic and social program was based upon a systematic world view. Jefferson always regarded natural science as the sole avenue to knowledge. For his philosophy, he relied upon a synthesis of the findings of all the natural sciences. Within the category of natural science, he of course included social science, since he always conceived of human society as a part of nature and subject to natural law. Since the sci-

ences were undergoing enormous development, which he sought to further, Jefferson definitely conceived of philosophy not as a static body of dogma, but as essentially dynamic. Like most of the advanced thinkers of his day, he believed that the outlook of the natural sciences definitely demands a materialist philosophy, and he subscribed to mechanistic atomic materialism, which had been revived from antiquity following the Renaissance. (See Jefferson's letter to John Adams in the Monticello edition of his *Writings*, XV, pp. 266-7; 273-6.) This led him back to the ancient philosophy of Epicurus, which, through Jefferson, exercised a profound influence on American thought. (Ford edition, X, pp. 6, 143, 146.)

From the modern revival of Epicurean materialism, Jefferson derived his concept of the end of human life. The rejection of any doctrine that human beings are dependent on the supernatural, the view of man as a material being, inevitably involved the rejection of any end for human life other than that of the utmost human perfection, which he, like Epicurus, identified with happiness. The end of man was man. Jefferson wrote this concept into the Declaration of Independence, in which America announced the aim of guaranteeing to men the inalienable right to the pursuit of happiness. This was something new and revolutionary in the history of humanity. It ran completely counter to the whole theory of European states in the past, which through their established churches had enunciated the end of human life as preparation for heaven, for which purpose *human* happiness, defined as sinful, had to be rooted out in the fires of a purgatorial discipline. This doctrine meant a complete rejection of the theological dogma that man, the son of Adam, is by definition sinful and that human happiness is thus evil and blasphemous. Nothing could have had such a liberating effect on the human mind as this concept of humanity as essentially innocent and good rather than evil. Through Thomas Jefferson, this outlook became a part of the American view of life in general.

Jefferson was not an atheist. The inability of science and of mechanistic materialism in his day to prove the dynamic character of matter and the resulting concept of matter as consisting of inert bodies in space led inevitably to the concept of an external force outside of matter as the prime mover. Some philosophers had speculated on the possibility of self-moving bodies, but this was no more than a bold hypothesis. The problem of motion and the proved inadequacies of the Epicurean eternal fall through infinite space as the source of movement, therefore, led most of the eighteenth-century materialists to conceive of God as the first mover. This concept was a speculative hypothesis rather than an article of religious faith, and the Deists, as these materialists were called, sought to explain all movements following the first motion in terms of mechanical law alone.

In reviving Greek materialism, the thinkers of the seventeenth and eighteenth century added something that was missing from that philosophy in antiquity. This was a theory of society. The roots of that theory may be found in the fragments of Epicurus (*Principal Doctrines*, XXXI-XXXVI), but they were not developed. This absence of a social theory in ancient materialism helps explain the triumph of Christianity. As Jefferson expressed it, "In developing our duties to others, they (the ancient materialists) were short and defective." (Mont. ed., X, 382.) Elsewhere, he declared, "Epictetus and Epicurus gave laws for governing ourselves; Jesus a supplement of the duties and charities we owe to others." (Ibid, XV, 220.) Thus, Jefferson recognized the sublimity of the moral code of primitive Christianity, a religion of the poor and oppressed, but he grounded it on materialism rather than theology.

The progressive movement of the bourgeoisie in modern history, which revived materialism in the course of its struggle against feudalism, required the development of a materialistic theory of society. The fragments of Epicurus on the state were *developed*, and thus materialism evolved a revolutionary social theory, which made it utterly unlike the quietistic philosophy of Epicurus. Thus, Thomas Jefferson, like Rousseau and the other French democrats, conceived of happiness as an end to be achieved not by an individual in his garden, but by the *mass of mankind uniting to throw off their oppressors and to organize a society based upon the freedom and equality of all.* This was something absolutely new in the history of man and in the history of materialist philosophy. In this way, America played a great historical role, of which the professors of philosophy have been largely unconscious.

It is an interesting fact that it was a royalist, Thomas Hobbes, who was responsible for the beginning of the development of the materialist theory of the state. This is hardly surprising, because it was naturally the privileged and thus the educated classes which first had access to ancient philosophy after its revival during the Renaissance. The revolutionary forces of seventeenth-century England opposed the

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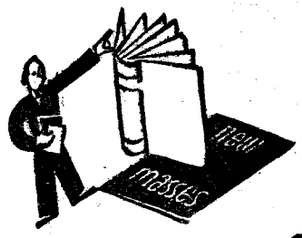

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absolute monarchy of the Stuarts on religious grounds. It became the custom for the more "enlightened" Cavaliers to ridicule the religious zeal of the Puritans. While through the Anglican Church the Cavaliers had their religious defense against Puritanism, it was inevitable that one of their philosophers should try to justify absolute monarchy in materialist terms, as Hobbes did in his epoch-making *Leviathan*.

The result was inevitably a theoretical failure, for from the motions of bodies in space, it is impossible to derive the emergence of absolute power embodied in human beings. Contrary to his intentions, therefore, Hobbes elaborated that theory of the state which John Locke purged of an inherent contradiction in his *Second Treatise on Civil Government*. By deriving sovereignty from natural right, which resides in the people, Locke showed that that natural right inescapably includes the right of revolution.

Not only did Locke develop the contract theory of the state consistently, as Hobbes had not, but he popularized the materialist theory of the origin of ideas. He delivered a devastating attack upon the feudal doctrine of innate ideas, which regards the human mind as fundamentally static. Feudal theologians had claimed to find in the logical hierarchy of ideas, ranging from the idea of the most universal being, God, to that of the lowest individual thing, an innate order in the human mind corresponding to the feudal organization not only of society but of the whole universe. By revealing the origin of ideas in material environment, John Locke smashed the conception of an unchanging human nature and revealed the possibility of changing and perfecting man through perfecting his environment. This idea of the infinite perfectability of man was a revolutionary thought indeed, and in it lies the foundation of all modern democratic philosophy, including the whole theory of universal public education. The philosophy of John Locke became the fundamental theory on which the democratic philosophy of America was erected.

Jefferson in America and Rousseau in France, moving along parallel lines, developed John Locke's theory into one whose practical application resulted in the formation of the first national democratic states. All the constitutional conventions, which became such an American institution, were conscious applications of the contract theory of the state. Jefferson's role as a political leader for over fifty years in actually leading a revolution and establishing and stabilizing a democratic federal government gave to his theory a distinctive *concrete realism* which is absent in the purely theoretical and abstract writings of Rousseau.

Seeking to find the origin of the actual differences and inequalities among men with the great aim of eradicating them, Jefferson, like Rousseau, traced their origin to the organization of society, to the external material environment. Concluding that men, the products of their environments, must be equal in strength and intelligence by nature, he undertook to discover why they endured oppression at the hands of sovereigns with whom they were by nature equal. He found the explanation in the ability of oppressors to hold their subjects in ignorance and to indoctrinate them so thoroughly with false knowledge as to convince them of their inferiority. Therefore, enlightenment of the mind of man in the actual discoveries of natural science and in economic and political facts was regarded as the absolutely necessary prerequisite for any struggle for freedom. It was for this purpose that the philosophers of France circulated popular scientific tracts and launched their encyclopedia, and that Jefferson supported similar activities and worked for a system of education based on the teaching of science and philosophy.

REGARDING official state religion as the main instrument for corrupting the mind of man, Jefferson considered separation of church and state and freedom to express any and all opinions relating to religion as absolutely the first condition for establishing a government which would create and preserve human freedom. But this was not enough. He saw that a democratic state could preserve itself only by educating the citizens in the principles of natural science and by submitting to the bar of public reason all the facts involving their domestic and foreign affairs. For training in the principles of natural science, free public education at state expense, free from any control by a church or by any private vested interest, was absolutely prerequisite. For enlightenment on public affairs, he helped establish two institutions as organs of adult public enlightenment—a free press, financed by the people rather than by the rich, and local neighborhood clubs of workingmen and democratic intellectuals, which should inform and organize the people for action on both local and national issues.

Finally, Jefferson saw with absolute clarity that the ownership of property by the mass of the people was absolutely necessary to preserve real, as distinct from formal, democracy and as the means of keeping the schools, the press, and the political party of the people free from control by vested interests. It was for this reason that he considered farmers "the most vigorous, the most independent, the most virtuous (citizens) . . . tied to their country, and wedded to its liberty and interests by the most lasting bonds." (Ford ed. IV, 88.) In his day, widespread ownership of land was the only conceivable method of preserving economic security and providing an economic foundation for democracy.

Jefferson envisioned the establishment of a continental democracy in America — a new and unheard of thing—as the first

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step toward democratic struggles which would eventually spread round the globe and liberate all mankind. He had no illusions, however, about the difficulties to be surmounted before this should occur. He knew that it would not take place quickly or easily, for he foretold that before it could occur "rivers of blood must yet flow and years of desolation pass over." But he considered that it would be worth the cost, and he did not doubt that humanity would win its complete and worldwide freedom.

We are participating today in *the first worldwide struggle* in the direction of that vision which Jefferson saw when he "surveyed the problems of the future." To study the philosophy of Thomas Jefferson will help us to understand the perspective of our leaders today—our President and the Prime Minister and Premier of our major allies—who, in the spirit of Jefferson, are seeing in clear detail the pathway to what Jefferson necessarily saw more obscurely.

Not only is our President a successor of Jefferson. It will help American friendship with our Soviet ally to realize that Joseph Stalin has been motivated throughout his adult life by a philosophy whose historical roots must be traced to the same democratic theory as that applied in America so brilliantly by Thomas Jefferson. Premier Stalin is a Marxist and his government was founded on Marxist principles.

Karl Marx elaborated his theory (1) by overcoming the limitations of mechanistic materialism, fusing it with the dialectic method of Hegel, thereby creating the new philosophy of dialectical materialism as the foundation of the science of Marxism; and (2) by reformulating the program of democracy in the light of the new problems created by the capitalist transformation of ruined farmers into an industrial working class. Most Americans have never realized the connection between Jefferson and Marx, because Marx derived his original inspiration from the democratic philosophers of Europe. But the French materialists who influenced Marx so profoundly derived their views from John Locke, and voiced in France the same views which Jefferson espoused in America. However, Jefferson applied their teachings more elaborately, over a longer period of time, and more realistically than the French philosophers could. Just because he joined theory with practice in the course of founding and guiding our government, Thomas Jefferson, who died when Karl Marx was only eight years old, approached far closer to Marxist philosophy than did the French writers.

The intellectual kinship between the English heritage stemming from John Locke, the American heritage derived from Thomas Jefferson, and the Soviet heritage flowing from Karl Marx should help cement an *intellectual*, as well as a military, economic, and political friendship among the peoples of these great powers.

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SIGHTS and SOUNDS

SHOSTAKOVICH'S EIGHTH SYMPHONY

By PAUL ROSAS

RECENTLY the New York Philharmonic under the direction of Rodzinski gave the first American performance of Shostakovich's Eighth Symphony. While it is difficult to judge a serious work at its first hearing, nevertheless the cumulative knowledge of the composer's previous works puts one into an anticipatory mood. And Shostakovich does not disappoint one's expectations. The symphony is a serious and intense work projected on a large scale with great musical inventiveness and done with excellent craftsmanship. It contains long, involved melodic lines, and though its details have great complexity it possesses on the whole a relatively simple structure. While the second movement has many fine, light, humorous, and satirical passages so typical of Shostakovich, and while the finale of the last movement resolves into a very effective and relaxing major mood, the symphony's best part is undoubtedly the somewhat introspective first movement. In this the composer develops his long, slow-moving lyrical passages into a growing intensity. By relatively simple but effective scoring, especially for the high strings, he builds up to a tremendous, protracted climax, which, as it breaks suddenly, jumps into its opposite, producing a fine closing mood of calm serenity. Unfortunately he tries to maintain this mood too long and thus negates some of the dramatic effect of the whole movement.

The extreme lengthiness here, as well as in his other works, so often lamented by his critics, is, however, only a minor fault, and can be corrected with a blue pencil, if necessary. What is more significant is that while one recognizes Shostakovich's serious intent and sincerity and admires the skilled

"Siesta," by Will Barnet

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craftsmanship with which he manipulates his themes and instruments, one is left with a definite feeling that the composer lacks emotional depth, warmth, and integration and thus fails to fuse the various successful elements in his compositions into a living whole and to produce in the listener a real, deep inner emotional experience. And this is after all the final criterion of all great art.

Possibly because of a somewhat similar psychological make-up, Rodzinski seems to make a good Shostakovich interpreter.

What is striking about Shostakovich's musical style is its somewhat eclectic nature and the absence of a distinctive Russian character. As I pointed out last year in a review of his Sixth Symphony, he does not seem to be anchored in the music of his people and fails to draw from it dignity, power, and majesty as did Mussorgsky and Tschaikovsky. While he seems to recognize the necessity for rooting his art in the life and struggles of the people to whom he belongs, he has never completely succeeded in translating this intellectual concept into a musical, emotional reality.

A word must be said here concerning the anti-Soviet overtones in the program notes which, while praising Shostakovich, insinuate that he has retained his "artistic integrity" despite the attempts of the Soviet government to meddle in the "pure" art of a great man in order to use it for political purposes. It is about time that mature writers on music give up their theory of the "lone wolf" genius and begin to realize that the works of every artist are conditioned by the surroundings out of which he has grown and which continue to act upon him throughout his life.

A short investigation of the facts would show that the Soviet Union's aim has been not only to develop healthy human beings but also to develop a correspondingly wholesome and positive type of art. It would further show that Shostakovich in the past, like many of his fellow artists throughout the world, had gradually developed a predilection for channelizing his great abilities mainly in the direction of clever, decadent cynicism and musical tricks, which had reached their climax in his opera *Lady Macbeth of Mzensk*. It would show furthermore that only after his fellow composers and musicians for years had vainly tried to convince him of the artistic futility of the direction he was following that the State Opera Company, as a last resort, closed down on the performances of this work—which incidentally had a longer run in the Soviet Union than any modern opera in any other country of the world. The consequences of this social and political pressure exercised upon Shostakovich proved to be definitely beneficial, for it resulted in the composer's recognizing his errors and in his concentrating increasingly in the direction of serious and positive works of art.

Such a pressure in the right direction cannot of course transform Shostakovich into a genius of the caliber of Tschaikovsky or Beethoven. But it can do what the Soviet Union is trying to do with human beings in all fields of life—namely, give them the material opportunities, the psychological incentives, and the guidance based on the experience of the past which will enable them to develop their inherent potentialities to their fullest extent.

A Coolidge Takes a Wife

ANOTHER turtle may now be heard in the land. In Zoe Akins' comedy, *Mrs. January and Mr. Ex*, he is considerably older and less fluttery than in van Druten's, but he is every bit as ingratiating and much wittier. Together with Arthur Sircom, Elliot Nugent took time out from the pursuit of Margaret Sullavan to stage Billie Burke's unfaltering campaign for what, for lack of another word, may be called Frank Craven's heart. As a play carpenter, Miss Akins is no van Druten, and her play is over-populated and uneven; but *Mrs. January and Mr. Ex* is a vastly amusing and often hilarious comedy.

However, this is a minority report: for reasons inscrutable to me, the critical fraternity was not entertained. Most of the reviewers complained about slimness of plot. But curiously enough, the comedy lags only during the brief period in the second act when Mrs. January's children and her brother scheme to force her to resume her position as one of America's wealthiest women. For the rest of the evening, it is light and swift in its portrayal of what happens when an "unreconstructed Communist," as Mrs. January describes herself, meets such a thorough conservative as Mr. Martin Luther Cooper, Republican ex-president of the United States.

Mrs. January, having long ago been convinced that the Communist revolution is inevitable, has brought up her children to be extremely tough and aggressive. Believing in the justice of this revolution, she now rents half of Mr. Cooper's small New England cottage with the intention of further preparing them for the hardships of poverty which is to fall equally upon all. She brings with her a full complement of servants whom she houses in a distant mansion, two cars, saddle horses, and an incredible number of trunks. And having thus proved the utter sincerity of her belief in the coming revolution, she sets out both to woo the Coolidge Cooper and to liberalize him. The contrast and inter-play between this wonderfully confused, fluffy-minded, sentimental amourist who thinks Stalin is a reactionary but still very good, and the cautious tight-mouthed Republican who considers Willkie a radical, makes for delicious satire.

Billie Burke was never more addle-pated, unpredictable, and feminine. Mrs. January is made to order for her dizzy style. But Frank Craven is simply immense. His is the most beautifully ugly face to be seen on the stage today. Its pantomime is so delicately small and yet so richly expressive that often while Billie Burke was in full flow of words and gestures, I found myself watching Craven for the slightest twinge of reaction. His appearance of helpless amazement when Mrs. January, believing she has been stripped of all her money, cheerfully plans to live on the simple style of the Soviet Embassy, is more hilarious than the absurdity. And when, apprised of his renomination as the Republican candidate for President, she cries out, "Then I have also been elected!" and Craven dryly remarks, "But I shall be the President," the house comes down. Indeed, his whole manner is dry to the point of brittleness, but it is a brittleness that is electric and crackly and is never thin.

The rest of the cast does very well indeed. Particularly, Nicholas Joy who is impressive as the malefactor of great wealth, Barbara Bel Geddes and Henry Barnard as Mrs. January's children, and the bit parts acted by Helen Carew and Edward Nanary as examples of encrusted New England chips. The directors have not only played their cast with liveliness but have also managed to give a most amusing character of change, reflecting the fortunes of its occupants, to Paul Morrison's simple setting.

All in all, Mr. Richard Myer's presentation at the Belasco is great fun. I hope the author of *The Greeks Had a Word for It* will not keep us waiting so long for her next play. She is intelligent, adult in her interests, and witty: all qualities of which Broadway could use more quantities.

HARRY TAYLOR.

For "Fats" Waller . . .

A FEW years ago Thomas "Fats" Waller stormed staid old Carnegie Hall. He was the first musician who ever dared an all-jazz concert to bring down that musty house. He won. Recently his music was heard there again when thousands of people came together to pay tribute to him—a fine artist, a man who died prematurely, a Negro whose music the Nazis called "degenerate."

Negro and white, from radio, theater, films, and night clubs, they flocked in. And I venture to say that never has there been such an evening of jazz entertainment. Bill Robinson, Duke Ellington, Muriel (Carmen Jones) Rahn, Billie Holliday, Mary Lou Williams, Count Basie and his band, Teddy Wilson and the boys—there were dozens. I have never seen such a spirit of warm participation by both performers and audience, a spirit that linked them, made everyone part of a greater whole. It was beautifully demonstrated when Paul Draper did one of his marvel-

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ous tap improvisations to the music of a "pick-up" band. Some of the boys from the various orchestras got together and improvised with Draper—the result was inspired teamwork. The same smooth cooperation was shown in Zero Mostel's "Jitterbug" to Count Basie's accompaniment; it was demonstrated by Raymond Edward Johnson in a magnificent dramatic reading of "A Negro at a Recruiting Station."

But more than anything else, this teamwork answered Frederick Woltman of the Scripps-Howard newspaper chain. Two days before the concert Woltman came out in the New York *World-Telegram* with an attack on the concert and on the American Youth for Democracy, which sponsored the affair. Red-baiter Woltman smeared generously, but he got nowhere. Not a single performer, not one person was scared off. For three hours and a half they gave and listened. And together with enjoying Fats' "Honeysuckle Rose," "Ain't Misbehavin'," and "I'm Gonna Sit Right Down," they cheered Rev. A. Clayton Powell in his moving plea for the AYD's project to establish inter-racial community centers. There's nothing much you can do on a piano with the black keys alone, he said, and there's very little else you can manage with the white keys, but put the two together—that's music. "Fats" put the two together—that's music. Fats Waller's kind.

Marjorie De Armand.

The Chaplin Trial

THE greater part of the press during the Chaplin trial reminded one of *Der Sturmer*, the Nazi sheet dedicated to pornography and anti-Semitism. Julius Streicher, its editor, has been foraging in garbage cans for years. The old *Police Gazette* stuff with a political angle—it keeps people's minds off the real problems. And this sort of tactic was paralleled in America when one of the greatest artists of this or any other time was smeared with a flimsy sex charge and hauled into court for only one reason—he happened to be a straight-thinking and right sort of guy.

Several years ago the Hearst press and its satellites began a long drawn-out campaign against Chaplin. The Chief and his associates didn't like the comedian's *Great Dictator*, one of the most telling and forceful anti-fascist satires in the history of motion pictures. So the Chief, noted for his efficient network of communications with his editors all over the country, gathered his carrier pigeons and bade them God-speed and bad cess to Chaplin. That started it, and in varying forms the persecution was continued—it's an ancient technique which Hearst has perfected with practice on many of Hollywood's progressive win-the-war films and personalities.

Then came his big chance. In 1942 Chaplin came to New York—expressly to make a second front speech at Carnegie

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Hall. In that speech, among other things, he pulled no punches in making a connection between the virulent America Firsters, Hearst, and one of Hearst's negotiated-peace allies, the Chicago *Tribune*. Now the way was open—now they'd get that scalp. The Hearst power house went to work. An alleged violation of the Mann Act was always good; they began the smear drive. Nor is it accidental that during the so-called paternity trial to come, the attorney for the "persecution" will be a Mr. Joseph Scott, well known in California as a Franco-lover and anti-Sovieteer. The addition is simple. The total mounts.

But it's a victory—this acquittal of Chaplin. It's another setback for the Hearsters, and it proves again that the old enemies of the West Coast movie industry are having trouble gaining the ground they seek. In the words of Paul Robeson and other stars of the theater and screen: "I think the acquittal of Chaplin was magnificent. He is the greatest artist of our time, perhaps of all time, in the theater. His acquittal speaks wonderfully for our juries, our court, our democratic system." All of us echo it.

M. De A.

Air Power

(*Continued from page 18*)

England. Their creation is a very encouraging step. However, even if similar units in the Mediterranean are included, tactical forces comprise only a minor fraction of the entire Anglo-American air forces and are still too rigidly centralized. A recent announcement of the British Ministry of Aircraft Production indicates, furthermore, that a greater proportion than ever of British manufacturing facilities is to be devoted to four-motored bombers. More progress, therefore, needs to be made toward the transformation of air power as a whole.

We have made mistakes and we will correct them. For there is no doubt that the Cassino affair has set many military men to revising concepts and ideas. Unfortunately much of the "experts'" discussion about Cassino does more harm than good. It tends to create the feeling that we have so much to learn that large scale battles should be delayed until we have become complete masters of every art of war—in other words to delay endlessly the opening of the second front. And the anti-second fronters have taken advantage of this kind of thinking. The fact is that combat is the best teacher. We can also learn a good deal from the sound principles around which the Soviet military machine is organized. It has brought the Wehrmacht to the edge of defeat and enabled us to produce a sufficient number of the right kind of planes —single and twin-engined fighters, ground strafers, tank-busters, low-altitude bombers and medium bombers—notwithstanding what is, in my opinion, our construction of an unnecessary number of four-engined sledgehammers.

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IN THE COMING MONTHS of this crucial election year, **NEW MASSES** plans a wider coverage than ever before of the domestic political issues throughout the country. So that our readers will not be limited by geographical areas in their knowledge and interpretation of events, we plan, in the immediate coming weeks, comprehensive articles on every sector of the home front. A main highlight will be a series by Bruce Minton, formerly **NM's** Washington editor. En route to California, where he will take over as the magazine's West Coast representative, he is stopping in the key centers of political activity, and we will shortly publish his analyses of the strategic ites, with particular attention to Ohio, Kentucky, Wisconsin, Missouri, and California. *

And there will be special emphasis on labor, on the trade unions and their vital political role. On tap is, among other things, an article by Editor Joseph North on the Political Action Committees—how they were built, how they have functioned, their future importance.

In every corner of the country our correspondents are busy. You will soon read in **NM** stories from Illinois, Michigan, California, from the South. And, of course, our regular weekly coverage from Washington.

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* NOTE TO OUR CHICAGO READERS: Mr. Minton will speak Sunday, April 23, at 3:00 p.m., at the Grand Ballroom of the Hamilton Hotel, 20 S. Dearborn Street. His topic: The Secret Plot Against America, which is the subject of John L. Spivak's sensational series currently appearing in this magazine. Mr. Minton will speak under the auspices of the Friends of the NEW MASSES in Chicago. Among the sponsors invited to attend, and appear on the platform to participate in the question and discussion period following Mr. Minton's address are: Earl B. Dickerson, former alderman and member of the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee; Frank M. Davis, executive editor of the Associated Negro Press; Harvey O'Connor, author of "Mellon's Millions" and other books; John Bernard, former Congressman from Minnesota.

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